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PRELIMINARY EXCAVATIONS AT TEPE GAWRA [1]

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1. INTRODUCTORY

Although a single political unit at present, modern Iraq [2] is far from being uniform geographically, ethnically, or linguistically. With regard to these aspects the country falls roughly into two major divisions. The desert and marsh-lands of the South, with Baghdad and Basra as their present-day capitals, are peopled by Arabs, both settled and nomadic, who have enriched their Semitic [3] idiom with several fairly distinct dialects. The North on the other hand is comparatively well-watered and mountainous; the population is predominantly Kurdish in the villages, Turkoman in the town settlements; only Mosul, the modern capital of the northern section, has a larger Arab community.

This division, originating as it does in the physical character of the land, is traceable through the entire course of the recorded history of Mesopotamia. Sumer and Akkad were distinct from Assyria, Arrapha, or Gutium; indeed, it may be said that the conflict between and the interrelationship of North and South largely conditioned the progress of events in the Land of the Two Rivers.

It is of great interest, therefore, to note that a similar relationship existed in what we must still term the 'prehistoric' period. Recent excavations and

[1] It is my pleasant task to express at the outset my appreciation of the institutions that made possible the undertaking described below: The authorities of the American Schools of Oriental Research sponsored and aided every phase of my work in Iraq in general and the excavation at Tepe Gawra in particular. By granting me one of its valuable Fellowships for two years in succession, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation provided the necessary means for a lengthy stay in the Orient. The Dropsie College of Philadelphia, through its President Dr. Cyrus Adler, kindly undertook to furnish the funds for a year's survey of Northern Iraq; part of that sum could later be employed for the purpose of the *sondages* at Gawra. And lastly, both the British and local Government officials were always helpful and accommodating; without their efficient cooperation very little could be accomplished in an outlying district like the one in which the mound is situated.

[2] For the better known names the spellings found on the latest survey maps have been adopted in preference to the often cumbersome etymological writings.

[3] For want of a better name the term 'Semitic' is used here not only in its correct linguistic sense, but also in the less exact signification of a *people* speaking a Semitic language.

surveying tours have brought to light definite evidence that in the earliest times known to us at present, Mesopotamia furnished the stage on which heterogeneous influences met and crossed; influences that, whatever their ultimate origin, emanate at the time when they first come within our view from northern and southern centers respectively.

Any discussion of prehistoric remains in the Near East is bound to revolve around a special type of painted pottery, which has been shown to be characteristic of the neolithic and chalcolithic eras in that part of the world.[4] The ware in question shows peculiarities of technique and design which may, within certain limits and with due caution, be considered as criteria of early age and, to a more restricted degree, also of relationship.

The work of the " Délégation en Perse " under M. de Morgan first brought to the attention of archaeologists the painted ceramics under discussion.[5] In the lowest strata of the main tell at Susa, 25 meters below the surface, unusually beautiful specimens of painted ware were discovered; it was evident that the decorated pottery belonged to the very earliest period of the site, and, as further study showed, antedated the oldest documentarily attested epoch in the neighboring country of Sumer. As work progressed it also became clear that the painted fabrics of Susa really belonged to two distinct civilizations, Susa I and II; curiously enough, the finest ware as well as the best specimens of decoration went back to the earlier of the two civilizations.[6] " Susian " ware was later discovered at Tepe Musyan, about 150 km. west of the site of the Elamite capital;[7] similar (though not identical) pottery was also found at Bender Bushire, on the Persian Gulf,[8] with which the painted ceramics of Abu Shahrein[9] (ancient Eridu) and Tell el-'Obeid[10] (4 miles west of Ur)

[4] Both names are combined in the convenient name 'aeneolithic,' which will be used below; but while this application is perfectly correct in the South, where the stone implements are found together with the earliest objects made of metal, copper is not in evidence in Gawra until the latest of its three civilizations is encountered, so that 'neolithic' is correct in that instance.

[5] Cf. *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, I, pp. 59 ff., 183, and vol. XIII. Lack of space makes it necessary here to limit the footnotes, on the whole, to the barest indications of sources. A fuller discussion of the problems outlined in the third chapter of this paper is being prepared for a forthcoming number of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, where the full apparatus will be included.

[6] Cf. especially H. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I (1924) pp. 22 ff., and E. Pottier, *Une théorie nouvelle sur les vases de Suse: Revue Archéologique*, XXIII (1926).

[7] J. E. Gautier et G. Lampre, *Fouilles à Moussian: Mém.* VIII, pp. 59-148.

[8] M. Pézard, *Mission à Bender Bushire: Mém.* XV.

[9] R. Campbell Thompson, *Archaeologia* LXX (1920), pp. 109-124.

[10] H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur, I: Al-'Ubaid* (1927).

has been rightly compared by the excavators of the latter sites. When other types of painted pottery of an early date began to be adduced, the sites on which it occurred extending from Thessaly and Anatolia through Northern Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, as far as Turkestan (Anau) and even Manchuria,[11] some scholars were prepared to visualize a uniform prehistoric civilization, embracing an enormous section of the Old World. But so unprecedented an expanse of an early and allegedly homogeneous culture raised in the minds of other scholars serious doubts as to the actual relationship of all types in question. The inevitable reaction brought with it greater caution in dealing with the subject, and was instrumental in the establishment of stricter laws of comparison. A brilliant and stimulating monograph by H. Frankfort[12] has shown to what extent historical deductions from the study of pottery may be plausibly carried, when an exhaustive treatment of all the elements of technique and decoration is employed as a basis. After superficial similarities have been ruled out for the time being, a closer relationship appears to exist between the wares of Musyan and late Susa I, between Bender Bushire and Lower Mesopotamia with probable contacts with Musyan, and lastly between Susa II and Palestine and Syria.[13] It must be remembered, however, that all possibilities have not as yet been exhausted, and that new discoveries may furnish us with connecting links between cultures, which it were unwise at present to group together on account of insufficient evidence.

This is not the place to go into more detail with regard to this intensely fascinating subject, nor would I feel sufficiently competent to do so. If the same question comes up again later on in the discussion, it is only because a large number of painted fragments were dug up in course of the brief campaign at Tepe Gawra, which it is the purpose of the present paper to describe. In point of fact, the choice of the site for trial soundings was determined by the presence on its surface of such early decorated ware. The surface remains contained also indications of contacts at an early date with Lower Mesopotamia, so that the mound appeared very promising indeed. But I must not anticipate.

I had practically completed my first season in Iraq before I came upon Tepe Gawra. Arriving in Baghdad in November, 1926, I proceeded to make a general survey of the archaeological remains in Northern Iraq, about which comparatively little is still known beyond the few classical Assyrian sites. It

[11] The bibliography is too extensive to be included here. A number of publications dealing with the painted pottery of the Far East were kindly suggested to me by Mr. V. J. Fewkes, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[12] *Op cit.*

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 70, P. Vincent in *Syria*, V (1924), 315.

was hoped that a few months spent in the less traveled districts east of the Tigris would help us obtain an approximate idea of the archaeological possibilities of the whole area. The survey took me from the foot of the Awraman range, on the Persian border, to the western limits of the Sinjar mountains, which lead into Syrian territory. Now among the most interesting results of the season's journeyings I should place the finding of a large number of sites covered with painted pottery of the above-mentioned type. It was indicated above that a very early date for that ware is universally accepted, even if some doubt may be felt as to the precise relationship of the several groups comprising the ceramics in question. The dating is placed beyond the possibility of dispute when the decorated fragments are found together with flint implements and obsidian flakes; in that case we may speak definitely of an aeneolithic occupation. In Northern Iraq the early painted pottery was found invariably accompanied by implements of the aeneolithic age.

The limited space at my disposal will not permit me to present all the information relating to prehistoric settlements in Northern Iraq that I have collected. I shall attempt here to indicate only the more important centers where mounds containing early painted pottery have been found in larger numbers. The neighborhood of Kirkuk is very rich in early remains. There is a group of prehistoric mounds to the south-west of the town, which includes Badawa, Qutush Kebir and Qutush Seghir in the vicinity of ancient Nuzi, several mounds in Wiran Shehr, Tell Arrafat, and others down to the Lesser Zab.[14] To the south of Kirkuk (ancient Arrapha), in the district of Tauq (ancient Duqaqina), there is another cluster of similar sites, among which the splendid mounds Tell edh-Dhiyāb and Para-Para are the most prominent ones. Some of the decorated sherds which I picked up on Tell edh-Dhiyāb were almost exact duplicates of fragments collected at Tell el-'Obeid two months earlier. To the north-east of Kirkuk aeneolithic remains appear to be less numerous. Tepe Helan, on the road between Altun Kopri and Guweir (on the Upper Zab) yielded fine specimens of painted ceramics and of flints. To the south of Erbil, between the ranges of Amana and Qarachok, Girda Kuchek was found to contain prehistoric pottery. On the whole, however, the older sites are comparatively isolated in these parts, until we come close to Mosul. Here we find another group of *tells*, fully as rich in aeneolithic remains as the plain south, and south-west of Kirkuk.

That the lowest strata of Nineveh[15] go back to very early times has been known since the excavations of the late L. W. King, who at the beginning of

[14] See *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (*BASOR*) 28 (1927), pp. 13 ff.

[15] Cf. R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh* (1929).

the century dug down to a level 68 feet below the surface where he found in dark earth a number of obsidian knives. The site of the Late Assyrian capital was occupied, accordingly, at least two thousand years before the city attained to its prime. Nor was prehistoric Nineveh a sporadic settlement in a sparcely inhabited district. For a few days surveying in the neighborhood of Mosul brought out the very interesting fact that the whole region is full of remains dating from very early times. The plain through which the Khosr lazily winds its way to reach the Tigris under the shadow of the walls of Nineveh, was in those remote days teeming with human activity; the adjoining districts were also well populated. Indeed, it may be doubted whether any subsequent period, not excluding the heyday of Assyrian power, ever witnessed an occupation of greater proportions.

On April 20th, 1927, I visited a small mound a mile north-west of Mosul where fragments of the tell-tale painted pottery were found on the surface. Three days later I started out in an old Ford automobile for Qarakosh, about twenty miles east of Mosul, with a young Arab servant named Yunis, who was the factotum on all such trips. The plan was to cover the area between Qarakosh and Khorsabad with Jebel Ba'shiqah as our northern boundary. The first day we examined several Assyrian mounds, none of which appeared very promising. The following day we visited the famous ruins at Balawat and started back eastwards for Khorsabad. A little past the Christian village of Keramlis we came upon Khaznah Tepe,[16] a low and irregular mound close by a village of the same name. 'Treasure Mound' seemed a very inappropriate designation for the insignificant heap of earth. Presently, however, we found good reason to change our opinion. The *tepe* was covered with fine fragments of black-painted ware with somewhat coarser red-painted sherds mixed in. Flints and obsidians around the base of the mound left no doubt as to the remote antiquity of the surface remains. Here was a real treasure, though quite different in character from the kind which the word *khaznah* signifies to the local Shebbek.[17] For the rest of that day we moved from one

[16] This name is given to numerous mounds in the Near East. Wherever there are ancient remains the natives are apt to suspect the existence of treasures, and since *khaznah* is employed in that sense not only by the Arabs but also by the Persians, Kurds, and Turks, it is not difficult to account for the spread of the name through the area occupied by those peoples.

[17] The district north of Mosul is known for its confusingly large array of distinct ethnic and religious groups. Apart from Kurds, Turks, and Arabs, there are the 'Chaldean Syrians' of Tell Keif and Elqosh, the Nestorian 'Assyrians' driven out of Turkey, the 'devil-worshipping' Yezidis scattered from Ba'shiqah to Sheikh Adi, the Shi'ite Shebbek who represent a group that immigrated from the Persian border districts several centuries ago, and the Sunni Bazhwan, the people who occupy the

prehistoric site to another. A mound very similar to Khaznah Tepe is to be found in the village of Baqrtayah, two miles to the south. Continuing to Ba'shiqah we stopped at the low but extensive Tell eth-Tha'ālib, which yielded numerous fragments of decorated pottery and exceptionally fine obsidian implements. The similarity between the black-painted ceramics of Tell eth-Tha'ālib and that of Tell edh-Dhiyāb is indeed remarkable. The lattice design is especially well represented on both the 'Mound of the Foxes' and on the 'Mound of the Wolves'; one forgets easily that the distance between the two is one hundred and fifty miles, and that Tell el-'Obeid is more than three hundred miles further south-east, so strikingly alike are some of the specimens from those sites.

The largest mound that we saw that day was Tell Billah, one mile south of Ba'shiqah. I counted 2,300 paces as its circumference, and its greatest elevation is close to 50 feet. To judge from the surface finds, Billah has a record of occupation extending for several milennia. By the side of the painted pottery we found there bits of Islamic ware, while fragments of Sennacherib bricks testified to the importance of the site in Assyrian times. Continuing west from Ba'shiqah we picked up red-painted sherds at Bahzani, one mile to the west, where we also spent the night.

On the morning of the 25th we resumed our journey westwards, visiting two small Assyrian mounds on the way. Towards noon we arrived in the village of Fādhiliyyah, about three miles north-east of Khorsabad.

Tepe Gawra, 'The Great Mound' of the local villagers, known to the Arabic-speaking *Muslawis* (Mosulites) as Tell Ali Beg, lies about one mile and a half south of Fādhiliyyah (Fig. 2). Even at that distance the mound is quite impressive, appearing tall, conical in shape and regular. While sipping the inevitable coffee in the garden of the *mukhtār* (village-head) I made some inquiries about Gawra. All those assembled, which in the case of a visit from a *Frangi* means the entire male population of the place, seemed surprised that anyone could be interested in their mound. The place, they said, was absolutely empty. Two generations ago a certain *Inglizi* had dug there for several days without finding anything worth-while.[18] To be sure, the neighborhood contained *antiqas,* but they had to be looked for elsewhere than on Tepe Gawra. To give point to this statement, the local schoolmaster

region of Fādhiliyyah and Tepe Gawra and differ from the Shebbek mainly in denomination. It may be added that all the above groups speak widely differing languages or dialects, which greatly adds to the confusion.

[18] They were evidently referring to one of the trial digs of Layard. In the N. W. side of the mound a partially filled in hole may still be seen, which is said to represent the spot of that early sounding.

soon produced an inscribed brick which he exhibited with great unction. For a consideration, he stated obligingly, he would tell me where the brick had been found. A glance at the large and crude characters made it plain that the displayed *antiqa* was an ordinary brick of Sargon, which must have come from one of the numerous mounds around Khorsabad. I declined politely to purchase the information offered, explaining that it was the ungrateful task of a *muhandis* (surveyor) to examine many useless ruins instead of concentrating upon sites that might be more profitable. Everything being in the hand of Allah, I concluded, something important might turn up even at their own Tepe Gawra, which would necessitate more extensive explorations on the spot and provide work and *flūs* (money) for many men of Fādhiliyyah. The usual invocations of blessings and exchange of good wishes followed, and in a few minutes the Ford brought us to the foot of the 'Great Mound.'

Although the preceding day had been full of surprises, Tepe Gawra had many new ones in store for us. In the first place, the mound was found to be one of the tallest in the entire Mosul district, rising 70 feet above the level of the surrounding country. Such height is usually indicative of a comparatively late date; but the surface remains were all against such a conclusion. For the slopes were literally covered with fragments of painted pottery in masses greater than on any other site I had visited. The number of obsidians and flints was correspondingly large. The types of decoration presented also an unusual variety; there were pieces of black-painted pottery together with fragments showing designs in red; apart from the monochrome ware there were numerous examples of polychrome decoration, frequently employed in checker-board designs similar to those found at Jemdet Naṣr. Rectilinear motives predominated, but there was also no lack of curvilinear patterns. The paint was applied directly or over a wash.[19] In short, Tepe Gawra seemed to contain a veritable museum collection of well-assorted specimens of early painted pottery.

Very interesting and promising seemed the fact that both the flints and the decorated ware were to be found not only at the base of the Tepe but also fairly high up the slopes. Evidently the prehistoric settlement lasted here for a long time and was preserved in several strata. No trace of Assyrian occupation could be observed, lending color to the belief that even the topmost layers belonged to a rather early age. Another striking feature was the presence on the slopes of Gawra of pieces of baked bricks and of curved wall-nails made of clay, so characteristic of the early deposits in Lower

[19] 'Wash' as opposed to 'slip' is used here in the same sense in which Woolley employs the term 'engobage,' cf. *Al-'Ubaid*, p. 163, n. 1.

Mesopotamia (cf. Fig. 79, top). The bricks alone suggested southern influence; good clay, it should be remarked, is as rare in the vicinity of Fādhiliyyah as stone is abundant and easy to procure. On a site so manifestly early as Tepe Gawra the luxury of baked bricks could hardly have been due to a spontaneous innovation; and the presence at that time of Lower-Mesopotamian elements appeared to a high degree remarkable in a place that lies only a few miles away from the foot-hills of the snow-capped Zagros. Nothing save excavations, we felt, would be capable of providing answers to the many intricate questions suggested by the surface examination of the mound. I decided, therefore, that if any funds were left over from the sum which the authorities of Dropsie College had kindly provided for the survey of Northern Iraq, that money should be used for trial excavations on the 'Great Mound.' As it turned out, there was a balance of five hundred dollars at the end of the season's work, making possible a small 'dig' of two weeks' duration at the beginning of the following season.

It was late in the afternoon when the examination of Tepe Gawra was finally completed. Leaving the visit to Khorsabad for a later occasion we turned south-west for Mosul, stopping on the way at Chenchi, whose mound proved to be a smaller replica of Tepe Gawra.

Before passing on to the description of the excavations of the mound which we stumbled upon, as it were, so unexpectedly, this account of early sites in Northern Iraq should be rounded out with a few additional remarks. It has already been shown that the Painted-Pottery Civilization occupied a very extensive area in Upper Mesopotamia.[20] We are very far, however, from having covered the whole extent of that civilization. On several subsequent trips mounds were discovered with the same characteristic early remains. Thus e. g., on our way to Aqra,[21] a beautifully situated mountain-town about 50 miles north-north-east of Mosul, we stopped to examine three mounds close by the road; every one of them (Girda Amian, Tepe Kurabeg, Girda Asin) contained black and red-painted ware as well as occasional flints. The black-painted ceramics of Girda Asin (Kurdish for 'Iron mound'; about 8 miles south of Aqra) was particularly fine. Owing to unsettled political condition it was impossible for me to investigate ancient sites along other routes leading from Mosul northwards. It is very significant, nevertheless, that the only district close to the Turkish border which I visited, had the prehistoric period better represented than any other later age. There is, therefore, a strong presumption that the other border counties also contain similar remains and

[20] Painted pottery in Northern Mesopotamia had been formerly observed by Andrae, Chiera, Albright, and Dougherty.

[21] May 19, 1927.

that the culture which was spoken of above will not be found absent across the northern frontier. This fact should be taken into consideration when the question of the ultimate origin of the painted pottery is discussed.

Decorated ware was also observed on some of the mounds that lie scattered in the large area between Mosul and the Syrian border. On the road from Mosul to Nisibin red-painted pottery was picked up at Tell Awenat,[22] about 60 miles north-west of Mosul, and on the twin mounds Gir Dioter, 5 miles further west.[23] North of the Sinjar mountains brown-painted fragments were found at Gir Shenanik, and a large number of obsidian knives was gathered at Goh Bel. Sherds with brown-painted decoration were also found on Tel Hayal, ten miles west of Beled Sinjar. I am not, however, sure that there is any connection between the painted pottery of this section and the ware mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. Apart from the fact that black-painted ware is, as far as I have been able to discover, totally absent in these parts, the designs consist usually of circles running around the upper part of the vessel.[24] Obsidian implements were found on one mound only (Goh Bel), which curiously enough contained no painted potsherds whatever. No flints were to be seen anywhere. In view of these facts, it is altogether possible that the decorated pottery of the district centering around the Sinjar mountains should be assigned to a different and later source than the painted ware east of Mosul.[25] On the other hand it must be admitted that the number of Sinjar mounds examined was comparatively small; a more thorough study may bring to light more definite links with the early cultures of Tepe Gawra and Tell edh-Dhiyāb. At all events, prehistoric ceramics of the previously discussed type reappear further to the west, especially on the Balikh in Northern Syria.[26]

To sum up, the only section of northern Iraq in which no early painted pottery was found is the district of Sulaimania east of Kirkuk. But even here we cannot vouch for the total absence of a civilization that has left so many distinct traces throughout the rest of the country. The time that I spent in Sulaimania was marked by an uprising of the local Kurds[27] and

[22] May 9, 1927.

[23] A few miles to the south of the 'Twin Mounds' an irregular elevation was pointed out to us at a distance, with the very remarkable name 'Tel Sumer.' Unfortunately it was impossible to get there at the time.

[24] Not unlike the decoration on the cup, Fig. 113.

[25] It will be remembered that the Sinjar district lies in what was once the territory of the Mitanni.

[26] Albright and Dougherty in the *BASOR*, 21 pp. 12 ff. Cf. also the pottery of Tell Halaf.

[27] Cf. *Annual of the ASOR*, VIII, pp. 4 ff.

the number of mounds accessible to me was consequently very limited. To be sure, all of the sites which I examined belonged to a later period than the one in which we are interested at present. But the number of *tells* which I was forced to avoid was quite considerable, and it is thoroughly possible that the painted-pottery period is represented on some of these *tepes* or *girds*.[28] Even as far west as the district of Teheran decorated ware has recently been found, some of which is reported to go back to very early times.[29] It would be therefore surprising to find a break in that type of pottery of about one hundred and fifty miles, the distance between Kirkuk and the eastern border of Iraq. Be that, however, as it may, we have established an unbroken series of sites contaning prehistoric remains, which extends from the Turkish border, north of Mosul, down to the south-east about 50 miles past Kirkuk, without arriving at the terminus at either point. In the uniformity of its civilization as well as in the number and wide distribution of its settlements that early occupation may be considered as the equal, if not as the superior, of any occupation at a subsequent period in the history of that part of the country.

2. Account of the Excavation

In June, 1927, the survey in which I had been engaged had to be brought to a close on account of the intense heat. As already indicated, I had a modest sum of money left over, which I promptly decided to utilize for the purpose of trial soundings at Tepe Gawra as soon as work could be resumed. The early part of that summer was spent in Persia, and the latter half in Palestine where some preparations were made for the 'dig' under consideration. Dr. C. S. Fisher, the well-known archaeologist attached to the American Schools of Oriental Research, very kindly placed at my disposal several valuable instruments for measurements and drawing. While in Jerusalem I made the acquaintance of Mr. E. Wilenski, an architect, whose enthusiastic interest in things ancient made it possible for him to join my party in spite of the negligible inducements that I had to offer. Although entirely new to archaeology, Mr. Wilenski was to prove an invaluable assistant. He contributed all the plans and the greater part of the drawings presented with this paper,[30] and made himself useful, besides, in almost every other phase

[28] Turkish 'tepe' and Kurdish 'gird' correspond to Arabic 'tell.'

[29] Herzfeld, *Reisebericht* in *ZDMG* 80, p. 232, speaks of large numbers of painted potsherds observed by him at Ray, near Teheran. That ware is compared by Herzfeld, rather generally, with the pottery of Susa. Anau, Samarra, and Tell Halaf, but is said to have continued into far later times than on the above sites.

[30] Figs. 71, 74, 97, 98, 100, 120-125 were drawn by Mr. A. D. Medoff of the University

of the work. When our brief venture was over, Mr. Wilenski became the architect of the Harvard-Baghdad School Expedition to Nuzi, a post which he has been holding ever since to the great satisfaction of everybody concerned. Through a happy coincidence our party was soon augmented by another valuable member. A short time before we were to start for Mosul we met Professor Chiera and his family on their way to open the work at Nuzi. The trip to Mosul was made together, and while Dr. Chiera was getting things ready at Tarkalan, young William Chiera was to be our recorder and general assistant. We could not have wished for a more intelligent and capable companion.

Mosul was reached on October 4, after a two-days' trip from Aleppo. The usual preparations such as arrangements with the government authorities, negotiations with the owner of the mound,[31] and the purchase of the necessary tools and provisions, occupied three days. In the meantime Yunis got the everlasting Ford in shape and on the 8th of October we were back in Fādhiliyyah much to the joy of the local villagers. An old house within sight of the mound was hired for our quarters; Husein, a former *chaush* or sergeant in the Turkish army, was selected as *ra'īs* (head-man) of the workmen, and on the following day the digging was begun with an initial gang of 30 men.

As may be gathered from its contours (Fig. 3), Tepe Gawra is a rather steep mound, being considerably tall while not very extensive at the base. On the N. W. the mound originally faced a stream, whose bed lies to-day 2.60 m. below the surface of the surrounding land; here the side is steepest. On the S. E. the rise is more gradual, and it is here that we decided to start our trench. The plan was to begin on level ground, a few meters from the base of the mound, and from there to work our way in successive steps up to the top. The width of the trench was to be 5 meters, and the length to be marked at intervals of also 5 meters, yielding thus regular squares named with the capital letters of the alphabet. Square A ran from markers A-A to B-B, square B extended from B-B to C-C, and so on; the summit of the mound was reached with square N (cf. Fig. 4). In this manner we were enabled, by noting in each instance the given depth, to indicate the exact place in which each object was found or where each bit of masonry was uncovered. We found the stratification usually well marked by ashes, potsherds, or both,

of Pennsylvania School of Architecture. Mr. Medoff also assisted in the arranging of the plates. The photographs given in Figs. 130-135 were kindly made by Mr. R. F. F. Starr, the present Director of the Harvard-Baghdad School Expedition to Nuzi. The remaining photographs contained in this paper are the work of Mr. J. Berg of Philadelphia.

[31] Cf. *BASOR*, 31 (1928), p. 14.

and could name the layers with successive numbers. Thus e. g., D*5* indicates the fifth layer from the top in square D-D to E-E.

a. *Gawra I*

From the first day of work it was apparent that the lower part of the mound had been occupied entirely by the users of painted pottery; moreover, there were several layers in that deposit, which shall be called Gawra I, as distinguished from two other cultures to be referred to as Gawra II and III, respectively. The Period of Painted Pottery proved to extend as high up as square F. The top layer of G introduces us to Gawra II, but from G*2* downwards we have again painted ceramics. In the squares from H on we did not dig deep enough to determine there the line of demarcation between Gawra I and II, so that square G must remain for us the upper limit of the painted-ware area. Work on the lower squares continued throughout the course of our excavations, while sections in the two later deposits were being uncovered. As the digging progressed, the number of workmen was gradually increased until we had in the last few days a group of 90 men divided into three gangs. By the end of the dig the gang employed in Gawra I had laid bare seven layers in square F, six in G, five in D and E, and four in B and C. In B we went two meters below our zero level (cf. Fig. 5), but nowhere was virgin soil reached.

The decorated pottery of Gawra I may best be studied from the attached drawings and photographs (Figs. 23-58, 63, 74, 76). Although the evidence of a single trial trench can not be considered as conclusive, it is worthy of notice nevertheless that, within this culture, the painted fragments of the later levels exhibited certain characteristic differences as compared with earlier strata, such as B*4* or F*5*. To take first the later specimens, the clay is either reddish or, more rarely, greenish-grey; the firing is fairly high. Judging from the fragments extant, most of the pottery was hand-made.[32] The decoration is either monochrome (red, black, very deep reddish-brown) or polychrome, usually applied over a wash, but without an interposing slip. The style is predominantly geometric, rarely stylized-naturalistic. Of the recognizable types the clearest are ring-base bowls, generally of remarkably thin ware (Figs. 23, 24, 26). Fig. 24 shows part of a red-painted bowl with a fairly well marked belly. Very fine is the bowl reconstructed in Fig. 23, hemispherical with a slightly splayed rim. The paint is black fading into dark brown, on a buff-drab surface; the design represents a series of triangles

[32] A small number of fragments (cf. Fig. 45) bore evidence of the *tournette*.

grouped in pairs and touching at their apexes, each "double-axe" separated from the following by several vertical lines. A third type of bowl with a markedly out-turning lip was found in B2. The decoration is polychrome, representing a succession of adjoining geometric figures, each one containing a group of three concentric parallelograms, of which the middle one is black-brown and the others red (cf. Fig. 26). B2 proved generally very interesting. The trench led through a chamber of which one stone wall was still in position (see plan, Fig. 6). The room was paved with small pieces of pottery beaten hard into the ground; on the floor close to the wall lay a terra-cotta figurine of a seated deity (?), probably female (Figs. 65 and 78), with the hands close to the breasts. The head was missing and the break showed the dark reddish clay to be very poorly fired. Near the figurine lay scattered ivory beads, and a little further, on the C boundary, was found a splendidly-finished marble saucer with carinated shoulder (cf. Fig. 79, center, left).[33] Numerous fragments of red-painted ware showing a metope arrangement also came up from the floor of B2 (cf. Fig. 36).

It will not be possible to discuss in this account all the fragments shown in the illustrations. The necessary data are given in the attached catalogue, making it possible for us to limit ourselves to a few more important details. Thus, e. g., a fragment from C2 contains the representation of a water-fowl, which reappears in the stratigraphically earlier B4 (Figs. 43 and 44). The paint is in both instances red, and the mode of decoration appears to me stylized-naturalistic. From D2 came several polychrome pieces with checker-board motives (cf. Fig. 76), the color scheme being black-and-brown. Fig. 47 represents a fragment of a plate, painted on both sides. The surface is buff, the paint on the inside black, on the outside black and red.

To an earlier period of Gawra I go back the fragments pictured in Figs. 41, 48-9. The surface is creamy-white, and the design includes rows of birds in flight, very much conventionalized and abstract, to use Frankfort's terminology. The older specimen (Fig. 48, F6) shows fine spacing and the clay is fairly well fired; in Fig. 41 (B3), on the other hand, the design is crowded and the clay coarse.

An entirely different type is represented by Figs. 45-6, 54. The clay is pinkish, the surface buff, and the paint reddish and sepia, partly faded and washed away. The Maltese cross is particularly interesting. The fragments belong to the earliest strata uncovered by us (B4 and F5). At the same depth were found potsherds that are without a parallel in the later levels. The firing is extraordinarily good, the clay reddish, the surface is orange and

[33] The measurements of the saucer are: ht. 35 mm., diam. 65 mm.

the design is painted in sepia. What is most remarkable, however, about this ware is the fact that the paint is *lustrous* and not mat as on all the other specimens. This pottery (cf. Fig. 45) was just beginning to appear in larger quantities as the excavation drew to a close. Obviously it is at least as old as any other type of ceramics from Gawra I, and incomparably finer in appearance and technique than the "Maltese-cross" ware which is nearest to it in date.

Several kinds of handles, usually going with coarser ware (cf. Figs. 60-63), were found in the strata of this period. By the side of the ledge-handle, there is also the lug-handle type, the latter being usually pierced for suspension either horizontally or vertically.

The only unbroken piece of pottery from Gawra I comes from D4 (Figs. 59 and 78). It is a crude little spouted lamp, poorly baked and undecorated. In F2 we came upon a large globular jar, also undecorated, containing children's bones and a few fragments of painted pottery. It was broken into many pieces, but enough was left to enable Mr. Wilenski to make a careful reconstruction (Fig. 64).[34]

The other finds need not detain us long. B4 yielded another headless human figurine of terra-cotta (Fig. 64[b]); animal models of dark-brown clay were not rare (cf. Figs. 66-68). A pottery stand decorated with brown vertical lines (Fig. 74) also deserves mention. Spindle whorls were scattered at all levels (cf. Fig. 106, bottom); it goes without saying that implements of obsidian and flint (Fig. 77) were everywhere in evidence. Among the rarer objects may be listed several decorated clay cones (Fig. 79, top), and a few incomplete mace-heads. A button-seal of sandstone (Fig. 71) was dug up in E3, while the curious little gable-seal of red marble (Fig. 72, surface find) probably also belongs to this period. With this we may bring to a close the description of objects belonging to the first main civilization of Gawra.

b. Gawra II

With the beginning of G1, and more particularly with square H (opened October 16), we enter an area that differs from the preceding primarily by the absence of painted ceramics. Advancing upwards to the J-J line we find our way barred by a retaining wall of large, roughly-hewn stones (cf. Figs. 4, 5). Across the wall a third civilization ushers in the Bronze Period, represented by the conical addition to the mound (J-N). But this superstructure, grafted on so to speak to the formerly well-rounded top of Gawra,

[34] We were rather unfortunate in the photographs taken *in situ;* they were all ruined by an unnoticed leak in the camera.

does not go very deeply into the body of the old elevation; for by slicing off the first few layers across the retaining wall we rejoin the pre-bronze culture of Gawra II, thus gaining for it an area of considerable extent.

In H*1* we found remains of a stone wall at the bottom of which lay a partly-crushed jar of reddish clay, with a few charred human bones inside (cf. Fig. 7). The wall led to I*1* where unbroken specimens of pottery began to appear in larger numbers. The ware was drab, well-fired and undecorated; most common were flasks, either with ring-stand or flat-base, hand-made and frequently very graceful in shape (Figs. 81-83). A lower level (Fig. 8) contained remains of earlier walls, a stone door-socket in position, and a large grinding stone. We were evidently in an important section of Gawra II; unfortunately, however, the builders of the retaining wall did not allow much of the older material to remain intact.

On crossing into J it was decided to continue the trench to the top of the mound in accordance with our original plan; but it also appeared advisable to follow, at the same time, the course of the impressive retaining wall. Consequently, a second trench was opened, crossing the main shaft at right angles. The division into squares was retained here too, as far as it was possible; to the left (S. W.) of the original ascending trench we uncovered the areas Jb, Jd, and Jf; to the right (N. E.) the areas Ja, Jc, and the group of the slightly irregular rectangles Jghe were laid bare (cf. Figs. 4 and 5).

The decision to dig this horizontal trench was ultimately to prove a very happy one, although the first few hours caused us a great deal of anxiety. In the first place, the massive wall contained breaks on either side of the main trench; more serious, however, was the fact that a member of our small staff became incapacitated for two days as a result of this extension of our activities. While kneeling down to take some measurements at the base of the retaining wall, Mr. Wilenski was bitten by a scorpion of the particularly noxious large yellow type. He was immediately removed to our village quarters, where good use was made of my medicine kit. The secretion is fortunately not as virulent in autumn as it is apt to be in midsummer, and our hard-working architect was soon well again, being none the worse for the temporary pain and the mild scare. But the rest of us had several uneasy hours apart from being deprived for two days of Mr. Wilenski's valuable services.

After the top layer of Jg had been removed a sudden change was observed in the character of the ground. The color of the débris underneath was now reddish instead of the usual black, and the soil was hard-packed and very difficult to dig. Soon fragments of burnt brick began to appear, and before

the day's (October 21) work was done a brick wall of what was apparently a larger structure had been uncovered. From then on until the close of the excavation (October 27) our main efforts were concentrated upon the recovery of that building, which turned out to be the Temple or Shrine of the last representatives of Gawra II. It was not possible, of course, to lay bare the entire structure within a week's time. For as we traced the brick walls we were obliged to dig deeper into the heart of the mound; over the *cella* there were three to four meters of later remains, the removal of which presented considerable difficulties, as both the floors and the walls found in the superimposed layers consisted of large stones (cf. Figs. 12, 13, and 16). In spite of these obstacles enough of the Shrine was dug out to give a fair idea of its ground plan; the incidental finds furnish valuable hints and indications concerning the character of the religious practices of the period.

The Shrine, as was indicated above, was built entirely of burnt brick, the walls reposing directly on the ground without an underlying foundation of stone; the corners were set to the cardinal points. The central part of the Shrine seems to have been a "cult-chamber," 4.5 by 7.5 meters. The entrance was from the S. E. and extended over the entire width of the room; the flanking walls were beveled at the entrance, slanting down with the slope of the mound (cf. Figs. 14 and 16). The chamber opened into three smaller rooms. Opposite the main entrance there was a door 1.30 m. wide which led into the sanctum-sanctorum; near the right- and left-hand corners of the cult-chamber there were two other doors facing one another, 90 cm. in width. The one to the right (N. E.) led to a long and narrow room, probably used for storage, which communicated with the outside by means of another door of similar size, in the S. E. wall. In both cases the stone door sockets were found in position (Fig. 16). We should have liked to open the room to the left of the main chamber, but unfortunately our time was too short for that.

The bricks used in the Shrine were poorly baked and reddish in color, the measurements being 44 by 20 by 10 cm. The mortar was 1.5 cm. between the vertical layers and 2.5 cm. between the horizontal layers. The thickness of the walls, which were plastered with a coating of reddish clay, was almost uniformly 60 cm. Highly instructive is the primitive method of loose bonding employed in this building (cf. Fig. 17); instead of being interconnected, the walls are held together only by the mortar. Individually, however, the walls are solidly built and regular.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the cult-chamber is the terra-cotta elevation in the middle ("altar"), cf. Fig. 16. It is directly in front of the entrance to the cella; the height is 40 cm. and the surface 272 by 142 cm.

The characteristic inner frame measures 190 by 92 cm., and the addition at the head is 30 cm. square. To the left stood a clay oven, broken off at the top. Near the main entrance of the chamber lay two coal braziers of porous stone (cf. Fig. 90), one against each wall. To the right of the door leading to the cella was found a heavy stone plate (Fig. 88), and by its side lay the very significant phallic object (Figs. 104-5), also of stone, on which circumcision is unmistakably indicated. Of equal interest is a pair of clay horns (Fig. 89) found at the foot of the door to the left (Fig. 16); the two holes for suspension make it probable that the horns were originally attached to the wall, very likely above the entrance near which they were found. We shall return to these objects in the following chapter. The exact measurements are in each case indicated in the catalogue, which precedes the illustrations.

No objects of any kind were found in the cella (cleared October 25). The floor was covered with a thick layer of fine black ashes and the walls also bore signs of fire. Evidently there had been a considerable amount of wood-work in this room, all of which went up in smoke when the Temple was destroyed. Everything else that was valuable was probably carried off by the enemy, who may very well have been the same people that built the retaining wall and started the third chapter in the history of Gawra. Of course, the Shrine has not been excavated in its entirety, and we do not know that the room may contain whose entrance, as we have seen, was adorned with horns. We are not in ignorance, however, of what was in front of that room. For in Jc, where the retaining wall meets us again after a break of several meters, we dug to the foundations of that massive structure and found it to rest on the brick wall of the Shrine (this is well illustrated in Fig. 15). Digging further we reached the level of the Shrine floor, at a depth of three meters below the surface (cf. Fig. 5, top). Here on a thick layer of ashes we found in a corner, against the lower part of a brick wall, a mass of knuckle bones. The bricks mark obviously the outside S. W. wall of the long room corresponding to the one which we cleared on the other side of the cult-chamber. In this corner, then, were deposited the remains of animals sacrificed in the cult-chamber and roasted, undoubtedly, in the large oven inside that chamber. In the corresponding corner to the left were found quantities of obsidian cores and flakes, as well as flints with traces of bone encasing, reminding us that we were still in the neolithic period, and that the little Shrine which it was our good fortune to find was as old as any yet discovered in Mesopotamia.

Before we leave the Shrine, attention should be called to a few minor finds that were discovered within its walls. In the left-hand corner of the 'long-room' a storage jar was found imbedded in the ground, its top being even

with the level of the floor (diam. 50 cm., depth 48 cm., cf. Fig. 16). Near the jar lay a fine mace-head of quartz, perfectly preserved (Fig. 94), and barely distinguishable in a handful of clay a miniature 'tear-cup' (ht. 16 mm., diam. 21 mm., cf. Fig. 95). Of importance were several impressions of a stamp-seal scattered on the floor (Fig. 91), probably belonging to some official connected with the Shrine. Where every available scrap of evidence increases substantially our meagre information about this remote and so unusually interesting period, the value of these seal impressions cannot be over-estimated.

So far it has been a simple matter to separate the levels of Gawra II from those of the following civilization. Until the retaining wall is reached in square J, there is no problem whatsoever as nothing below J is in the least suggestive of Gawra III. The same may be said of the Temple area where the intrusion of Gawra III is so clearly marked by the retaining wall breaking through the brick structure of the Shrine (Fig. 15), and where everything below the level of that stone wall becomes automatically part of Gawra II, even if the given object was not discovered in the Shrine itself. The matter becomes, however, rather complicated when we attempt to make the same division in the section which was laid bare by our main trench across the retaining wall; in other words, in some of the squares from J on there may be a reasonable amount of doubt as to whether a given deeper level should be assigned to Gawra II or to Gawra III. This is especially true of K4; for beginning with L none of our shafts was deep enough to get beneath Gawra III. As for K4 the problem is of particular importance in view of the fact that several finds of more than ordinary significance were made at that level. I am referring to a group of toy-sized pottery objects including a 'covered wagon', a 'sedan-chair', and a couch (Figs. 97, 98, 100, 102). The first two are closely related in workmanship; both are decorated, and the well-baked clay is greenish-grey. The decoration, incised and appliqué, is skeuomorphic inasmuch as the designs are in imitation of wicker-work, which must have been much in vogue in the make-up of such objects in actual use. The sedan-chair is undecorated and the clay is in this instance reddish and less well-baked. The two-wheeler type is not uncommon on other sites,[35] but the other two specimens are, to my knowledge, unique when all details are taken into consideration. The votive significance of the entire group can scarcely be doubted.

A glance at the plans (Figs. 4 and 5) will make it evident that K4 is

[35] Cf. Andrae, *Die archaischen Ischtar-Tempel in Assur* (1922), pl. 61 c-e, and Langdon, *Excavations at Kish* (1924), pl. VII, 3

practically two meters higher than the level of the Shrine. Consequently, our first impulse would be to assign the votive pottery objects to Gawra III; and indeed, the foundations of the retaining wall rest on a level that corresponds very closely to the floor of K4. Perhaps this is the only conclusion possible. At the same time it is difficult not to relate the votive vehicles to a few terra-cotta animal figurines, which are also intended for wheels and which come from I1, hence a typically Gawra II deposit (cf. Figs. 96, 99). Nor need it be a mere coincidence that no trace of copper could be discovered in K4; the vicinity of the Shrine might, moreover, help explain the heaping up of objects of a cultural nature in our lowest stratum of K. Personally, I find it difficult to decide in this case between Gawra II and Gawra III, and shall content myself, therefore, with the above presentation of the available facts. At all events we are here on the boundary of the Bronze-Age period and are prepared for the necessarily limited account of the results obtained in the upper squares of our trial trench.

c. Gawra III

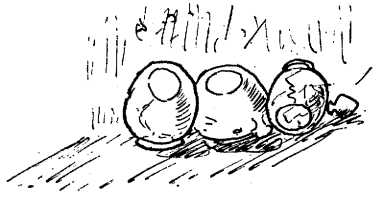
In connection with the description of the Shrine deposit mention was made that J1 marks the beginning of a new civilization, and that a retaining wall, which passes through J and which presumably encircled the entire upper part of the mound, forms the boundary between the two periods. The finds, too, afford a welcome criterion with the aid of which remains of Gawra II may be clearly distinguished from those of the succeeding age. For the one thing that the first two main cultures of Gawra had in common was the exclusive use of neolithic implements and the total absence of any kind of metal. With Gawra III, on the other hand, we enter the Bronze Age and stone artifacts are generally discarded. This fact was impressed upon us within the first hour after our workmen had begun digging inside the stone enclosure. At the depth of 30 cm. one of the pick-men discovered the fine cylinder-seal representing Ea with the two streams (Fig. 127) while, almost simultaneously, another workman brought up from an adjoining section of J1 a copper hook (cf. Fig. 134), the first bit of metal that Gawra had yielded until that time. Nor was this an isolated find. Before the day (October 18) was over our recorder had a well-sized collection of copper objects to mark and catalogue. Most of those had been found in a large jar (Fig. 112) which enthusiastic Chiera, Jr., insisted on naming 'The Treasure Pot', and not without reason. For its contents represented a modest museum collection: Three splendidly executed and excellently preserved axe-heads (Fig. 135), a sickle (Fig. 132), a miniature pick-head evidently for delicate artistic work

(Fig. 131), a snake anklet, and a number of smaller pieces such as hooks, needles, and spatulae (cf. Fig. 134) were all found crowded in the jar, partly covered by a few handfuls of fine brown earth. At the bottom of the jar, as if for the sake of varying the collection, lay a long bead of carnelian and two cylinder-seals of black diorite. One of the seals (Fig. 126) is concave in shape, and the archaic design represents an adoration scene. The other is a splendid specimen of a Gilgamesh *motif* (Fig. 128). On the floor near the 'treasure-pot' lay a spear-head with two nails to hold the wooden handle still in their original position (Fig. 131). The object had obviously been too large to be placed inside the jar. Other squares, too, produced a number of interesting copper objects, notably a snake (Fig. 133), and a small forceps with the temper still in force (Fig. 130). But the highly productive *J1* had not run dry yet. At the same level as the jar, but in another room (right-hand corner of the square, cf. Fig. 4), were found numerous beads of carnelian, lapis-lazuli, rock crystal and agate (cf. Fig. 79, bottom). Nor must we forget the pottery. Besides the well-fired 'treasure-pot', which incidentally is the only vessel with a *slip* (red) found on Gawra, *J1* yielded several unbroken jars and bowls (cf. Figs. 107, 109-111, 114, 116, 129). Especially graceful is a vase with carinated rim (Fig. 114), rendered partly black by fire. All the pottery of this period is wheel-made and the clay is greenish-grey. Other objects of baked clay found at the J level include an incomplete tripod plate (Fig. 119), two bowls of thin ware (Figs. 115 and 118; Jf and Ja), a head of a snake (Fig. 124), a scaraboid seal (Fig. 123), an interesting mould with perforated handle (Fig. 125), spools, wheels, and the like. Broken sherds were being brought up in hundreds; on a few of them incised decoration representing fish could be observed (Fig. 106, top, right-hand corner).

A considerable number of larger storage jars were also dug up, both complete and partly broken (for reconstructions cf. Figs. 19-22). The most remarkable group of such vessels was unearthed in the lower left-hand corner of *L3*, hence at a level succeeding that of *J1*. Just before noon on October 20, I was taking notes in *F5*, where the orange-and-sepia ware had been discovered, when the foreman Husein came rushing down from the upper part of the trench announcing that a knife-man had found "something big", while clearing a corner in an upper square. The "something big" turned out to be the bulging-out belly of a large pot; the man was following his instructions and would not touch any object without the supervision of one of the *sahibs*. The vessel seemed to be of the ordinary type; I was about to lift it and take its measurements,[36] anxious to return to the painted pottery,

[36] Mr. Wilenski was in bed nursing his scorpion-bite.

when the digger's knife struck another vessel close by the first. While the workmen were taking their mid-day rest Husein and I remained in the trench to remove the jars. The matter became more complicated when a third and then a fourth pot were noticed before the others could be taken out. At



length enough of the dirt was removed to enable us to lift the first two jars, both of which were turned upside down. There was nothing unusual about the one which had originally attracted our attention. But the removal of the second presented great difficulties; an additional piece of pottery seemed to be attached to or fused with the jar and it was not until the pause for the afternoon prayer that this object, too, was lifted from the ground. Then, on the removal of some clay that stuck to the outside walls, a very striking specimen was revealed to us. The jar represents a complicated and highly-ingenious contrivance. The most suitable name for it is perhaps 'Fountain-Head Vessel'.[37] Made of reddish clay, well-baked and smoothed over with a wash, it is 34 cm. in height and 35 cm. in diameter (Fig. 80). Above a tubular rim rises a funnel-shaped saucer. The water admitted through that funnel spreads in the rim and emerges from the widely-open mouth of a well-shaped ram's head, which faces the saucer. The neck curves in slightly, but the shoulder continues independently to an added height of 3.5 cm., so that a channel, open at the top and sharply pointed at the base, is formed between the neck and the extension of the shoulder. Midway between the rim and the groove eight ducks are fastened to the neck. Now after the stream that comes down from the ram's head has filled the vessel, the water overflows to be caught in the channel underneath, while the ducks appear bathing under the little cascade. The channel opens into a small spout placed 12.5 cm. under the opening of the funnel, and the stream thus comes out directly under the spot where it was first admitted. Running water is doubtless presupposed so that the flow might remain uninterrupted. Both the arrangement and the

[37] In earlier general accounts of the excavations (*JQR*, XIX, 1929, pp. 345-354), written before the material could be carefully reexamined, it was stated erroneously that the vessel belonged to Gawra II.

lines of this striking piece of pottery suggest a model of stone, or perhaps of bronze.

We were fortunate enough to discover remains of the system that regulated the water-supply of that stratum and made the luxury of the 'fountain-head' possible. In M4, a level that is the direct continuation of L3 (cf. Fig. 5), we found two brick conduits meeting at right angles with a removable limestone cover at the joining point (for plan and section cf. Fig. 18). Several large jars were found in the immediate neighborhood of these water-channels (cf. Figs. 21-2); together with the above-mentioned group from L3 this pottery forms a collection of considerable proportions, but the nearness of water easily accounts for its occurrence in that particular section.

Extensive remains of buildings, all of roughly hewn stone, were unearthed at various levels of Gawra III. Best represented in this respect is the J stratum, due mainly to the fact that our horizontal trench was started at this height, giving us an area of seven squares from which this level could be studied. The people who destroyed the Shrine and entrenched themselves behind the retaining wall left us a series of small rectangular rooms, which possibly formed part of their fortress (Fig. 4). The irregular wall that comes in at an oblique angle between the two walls of Jc is obviously a later addition. From K to N we encountered a greatly confusing succession of floors and walls; J was followed by several strata, each adding to the height of the mound and, at the same time, curtailing the inhabitable area at the top (cf. Figs. 9 and 10). Our trench had very little information to offer concerning this latest period in the history of Gawra. The only positive results came from the stratum represented by L3, M4, and Jgh2 (cf. Fig. 13), with its 'fountain-head' vessel and its water conduits. The topmost sections were practically devoid of objects of any kind, the masonry having crowded out everything else. Worthy of notice are a long-necked terra-cotta animal (L2, Fig. 117) and a cup narrowing down at the bottom to a small ring-base, its neck decorated with two red-painted circles (cf. Fig. 113). A few inches under the summit of the mound two Moslem burials were uncovered (Fig. 11); except for those nothing else was found to bridge the very wide gap between the latest occupation level at Gawra and our own times.

On October 27 our work was brought to a close. The next day was one of festivities for Fādhiliyyah. The governor (*mutaṣarrif*) of Mosul came to view the results in the company of the Political Administrator. They were soon joined by Mr. R. S. Cooke, the ever helpful Honorary Director of Antiquities, who, accompanied by Mrs. Cooke, had come all the way from Baghdad to attend the division of antiquities. The 'fountain-head' vessel was quite rightly claimed for Iraq as a unique object, but we were allowed to retain a

large share of the remaining finds. Before the division was completed several cars had brought other visitors from Mosul. After a tour of the trenches the entire company sat down to an outdoor meal, served in a near-by garden, to which all the workmen were invited.[38] These kind and simple people had contributed largely to the success and the enjoyment of our work, through their willingness and constant good humor. They had proved honest, faithful, and intelligent in applying themselves to new tasks. The scientific results of the short campaign, especially the clear stratigraphic evidence of three distinct and unrelated cultures at the very beginning of Mesopotamian history, had exceeded our fondest expectations. It was therefore a pardonable extravagance, we felt, to have a day of festivities and ease at the close of the excavation; the pleasure of that occasion being tempered only by the regret that we were obliged to leave those hospitable surroundings so soon.

3. General Conclusions

The preceding chapter was devoted to a resumé of the archaeological results obtained in course of the trial excavations at Tepe Gawra. Although it was not possible, for lack of space, to describe all the finds in detail, nothing was omitted from the account that was thought to have a bearing upon the character of the ancient inhabitants of Gawra or upon the nature of their several civilizations. My present task is briefly to reexamine these scattered data with a view to setting up a relative chronology for the main periods of the mound, and to relate, if possible, the authors of each of those cultures to some known ethnic group.

Gawra I. To sum up first the facts relating to Gawra I, the lower third of the site goes back to a neolithic people who remained there for a period long enough to account for at least seven observable occupation levels. Painted ceramics were the most characteristic product of that civilization; in the lowest strata the decoration is reddish-and-sepia on a buff surface, or else sepia-on-orange applied in a lustrous paint. The polychrome ware continues into later periods, but monochrome red or black-painted pottery gradually becomes the fashion. The geometric style of design is occasionally relieved by naturalistic, or more exactly stylized-naturalistic, motives. With regard

[38] I do not know of any group in Iraq whose standard of living is lower than that of the poor and much abused Bazhwan. Their food consists almost exclusively of flaps of barley-bread and of water. Meat, and even eggs and milk, are for months absent from their diet. Small wonder, then, that the mortality among them is appallingly high.

to shapes, open hemispherical bowls seem to have been most common, at least in the later strata of this period. For the earlier levels shallow plates and straight-sided tumblers may be assumed on the basis of a few fragments which fortunately make it possible to reconstruct the original shapes without too much uncertainty.[39]

As stated above, the two problems before us are those of date and of ethnic affiliations. We have seen that the painted ware of Gawra I goes together with implements of flint and obsidian. Moreover, the advent of metal is delayed also throughout the succeeding civilization, and it is not until we reach Gawra III that the first signs of copper come to light. Of the definitely neolithic character of Gawra I there cannot, therefore, be the least doubt. But the question of *absolute date* still remains unanswered. To settle it, even approximately, an attempt must be made to find for the painted pottery of Gawra a place among the several groups of early ceramics mentioned in the introductory part of this paper.

The fact that a chain of sites yielding painted ware has been traced from the Balkans to Manchuria is not in itself conclusive of the essential relationship between the individual links; the presence of geometric elements in the decoration of all the groups of that pottery fails to give sufficient force to the argument from continuity along such an extended course. Far-reaching conclusions concerning ethnic affiliations, whose sole support is derived from these striking but meagre facts, will be no less fantastic because so exceedingly alluring. For practical purposes, decorated Aegean pottery of the second millennium B. C. cannot be brought into a closer relationship with the prehistoric ware of Elam or Mesopotamia than, say, the painted ware of the American Indians. In order to bring the subject within the range of a scientific investigation it is imperative to narrow down the field in time as well as in space. This will limit us to the mounds with aeneolithic remains grouped around the head of the Persian Gulf, the early sites of Northern Mesopotamia previously described, and the districts further to the North; connection with the latter was indicated by the mounds between Mosul and Aqra described above, and positive evidence for such intercourse will be adduced in course of the following discussion.

To begin the comparison with Southern Mesopotamia, a glance at the plates showing painted sherds from Tell el-'Obeid will immediately suggest a certain degree of relationship between that ware and a part of the painted pottery of Tepe Gawra.[40] There is in the first place much similarity in design; on both sites we have the same predominance of the lattice motives, the same use

[39] Cf. Figs. 47 and 50.

[40] Cf. *Al-'Ubaid*, pl. XVI-XIX.

of hatched bands of zigzags (Fig. 34; TO 2027, pl. XVIII), the identical representation of rows of birds in flight (Figs. 41, 48; TO 1548, pl. XVIII).[41] Further examination will reveal that where the decoration is analogous the ware is also generally similar; fine, greenish-grey clay, hard and fired at a high temperature. The paint is in most instances under consideration black, sometimes with a tinge of dark green. Equally close is the correspondence in shapes; the preference for the open, nearly hemispherical bowls, often with ring-stand, is characteristic of both sites (cf. Figs. 23, 24, 26-7, 30 and TO pl. L-LI; cf. also Fig. 59 with 'Type VI' of el-'Obeid). The decorated pottery of Bender Bushire, which is commonly agreed to be identical with that of the Ur area, furnishes another source for comparison with the ware of Gawra I, which it is needless to utilize at present.[42]

Another Mesopotamian site productive of decorated ware of a very early date is that of Jemdet Naṣr, not far from Kish. With the el-'Obeid pottery the former has, however, little in common, being chiefly characterized by polychrome decoration and by the extensive application of the checker-board design. It is, therefore, all the more interesting that a group of fragments from Gawra shows marked similarities to the pottery of Jemdet Naṣr (cf. Fig. 76, middle row). I should indicate here that I have no reproductions of the Kish ware at hand, and that the above remarks are based on what recollection I have of the specimens from Jemdet Naṣr now displayed in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad.

Concerning the ceramics from Musyan it will be sufficient for our purposes to state that while there are no thoroughgoing resemblances between that ware and the pottery from el-'Obeid, the two groups (of the Musyan fabrics only the so-called "poterie épaisse" need at all be considered in this connection) share nevertheless a number of decoration motives; the Musyan shapes, such as can be reconstructed from the extant fragments, also show similarities to the types occurring on Lower Mesopotamian sites. The same degree of relationship may be said to exist between Musyan and Gawra. Of the motives common to both I shall only mention the combination of "double-axe" triangles with fields of lattice patterns (cf. Fig. 30; *Mém.* VIII, Fig. 155).[43]

Lastly we come to the much-discussed pottery of Susa proper, a ware that is better known, is more thoroughly classified, and at the same time has been

[41] Cf. also *Mém.*, VIII, p. 94, Fig. 135. TO is the author's abbreviation for Tell Obeid.

[42] Cf. Frankfort, *Studies*, I, p. 57.

[43] Cf. also *Mém.*, VIII, pl. VII. The analogy, however, is very incomplete as in the Ali Abad specimen we have a large storage jar, whereas in our Fig. 23 it is only a small open bowl that is similarly ornamented.

provocative of more controversies than all the other groups of early ceramics. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the relative merits of the two opposing schools, one of which claims that the two generally recognized civilizations of oldest Susa are interrelated, while the other insists that there is no connection whatever between Susa II as compared with the earlier and unquestionably more beautiful style of Susa I.[44] Our immediate interest is to determine whether the painted pottery of Gawra has anything in common with that of the old Elamite capital. The answer will be simplified if it is remembered that the principal difference between the two styles of Susa may be summed up by saying that Susa II is frankly naturalistic while Susa I is either purely geometric or else geometric combined with a stylized or abstract naturalism. As regards Gawra I, we have seen that at all levels the style was almost exclusively geometric, rectilinear designs by the side of the less common curvilinear ones. Motives like rows of birds in flight have come down conventionalized almost beyond recognition; in the more obviously naturalistic representations such as the water-fowls (Figs. 43-4) and leaves (Fig. 55) the underlying attitude appears to be stylizing.[45] At all events, the number of specimens of the latter type is very limited, so that we do not have a well represented group to set up as parallel to Susa II. Superficially, at least the analogies of Gawra are with Susa I.

I do not wish to imply that there is actual relationship between the early levels of the two sites. For one, the material from Gawra is much too scanty to justify definite statements in this respect. At best we can infer certain parallel developments. I have pointed out above that in the deepest levels of our mound a type of pottery came to light that was decorated with lustrous paint, the color scheme being *dark on light*. The fragment of that ware, which is pictured here, can hardly be anything else than part of a tumbler (Fig. 50). Now all these characteristics are found in the pottery from early Susa I: tumbler shape, decorated in shining black on a light background.[46] These striking similarities make it all the more regrettable that we were obliged to bring the Gawra excavations to a close at the very time that the lustrous ware was beginning to appear in greater quantities. For it is not unlikely that the lower deposits might have given up more convincing evidence of closer relationship with Susa I.

[44] For literature cf. note 6. See also Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, I (1927), p. 414.

[45] Originally I thought of comparing those specimens with fragments from Susa II, but closer study makes such a combination highly precarious.

[46] Cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 77. The use of the *tournette* in both instances may also be mentioned.

Again, the latest strata of Susa I are not without parallel at Gawra. Mr. Frankfort has shown that the few specimens of red ware found in the necropolis of Susa must be assigned to the latest deposit of the first civilization. Of particular interest is the sherd with the "double-axe" ornament (Frankfort *Studies,* I, pl. III.5) because it points, in conjunction with telling details of technique, to north-eastern influences, as a vessel found in the neighborhood of Mount Ararat (ibid., pl. V.1) exhibits the same characteristic features. As far as the design is concerned, we may compare with the above the "double-axe" fragment from the top layer of Gawra I (Fig. 23); the reddish clay, too, is common to all three pieces. On the other hand there are important differences. The Gawra fragment has no slip, is very much neater in appearance, has no curvilinear lines, and forms part of a hemispherical bowl. Besides, the "double-axe" alone cannot serve as a criterion of relationship; the same motive is found, e. g., on a polychrome storage-jar from Tepe Ali Abad, near Musyan (*Mém.* VIII, pl. VII).[47] Nevertheless, the suggestion of contacts with the north is worth following up. Just as our horizontally pierced lug-handles (Figs. 62-63) remind us of Southern Mesopotamia and Susa, so does the vertically perforated lug (Fig. 61) point to Anatolia. In the same quarter we find analoga to our red-painted pottery with a metope arrangement in the decoration (Fig. 36; Genouillac, *Céramique Cappadocienne* II, 138) as well as the three-color ornament.[48] The same is true of our gable-seal if we are right in assigning it to Gawra I (Fig. 72; Hogarth, *Hittite Seals,* p. 18). We have seen already that the number of sites containing prehistoric pottery does not diminish as we advance from Mosul towards the Turkish border.

The remarkable result of the preceding investigation has been the establishment of the fact that the painted pottery of Gawra has elements in common not only with the decorated ware of Southern Mesopotamia but also with the ceramics of Susa I and of Anatolia. Was this due to the eclectic tendencies of the early Gawrans? No one would seriously consider such a theory. The alternative assumption, however, is quite plausible: all the above groups drew from a common source. The proto-Elamites proceeded to develop a type of their own which they carried to an astoundingly high degree of perfection; the early inhabitants of the region around the head of the Persian Gulf specialized in a different direction, by carrying further the technique of firing and the development of shapes. At Gawra we still see the several types evolved in the original center. This would indicate that the generating source

[47] *Op. cit.,* p. 38.

[48] Not to speak of examples from Susa I; cf. *Mém.,* XIII, pl. VII, 3, 4; pl. VIII, 1, pl. IX, 2.

was comparatively near. Tepe Gawra lies at the foothills of the Armenian mountains: it seems unavoidable to look for the fountain head of the painted pottery culture in the highlands of Eastern Asia Minor or, preferably, in Armenia. From there the pottery could have easily spread in all directions, covering ultimately the vast area in which we find it distributed subsequently; and it is in that neighborhood that this fabric lingered on long after it had given way to other types in Mesopotamia and in Elam. If we accept the theory of Frankfort that the pottery of Susa I gradually spread westwards to reappear in local guise both at Musyan and in Southern Mesopotamia,[49] we shall be at a loss to explain the occurrence of the "el-'Obeid" ware as far north as Gawra.[50] Mr. Woolley's suggestion that the decorated ware of Southern Mesopotamia is older than that of Susa explains even less than the Elamite theory.[51] I am well aware that the evidence for a highland hypothesis is not abundant enough to be entirely convincing.[52] But it appears to me to account for the greatest number of problems arising from the study of the interrelated phenomena cited in this connection.

Concerning the people who originated the painted ornamentation with which we have been dealing, we are left entirely to conjectures. The theories that have been proposed would ascribe the first style of Susa, and its congeners,[53] to Elamites,[54] or to the Sumerians;[55] the origin and dissemination of the pottery grouped under "Susa II" have been attributed, on the other

[49] Woolley, *Al-'Ubaid* 167, notes the connection between Musyan, Kish, and Eastern Anatolia. With the concentric circle in the decoration of the Musyan ware may be compared a fragment from Gawra with concentric ellipses (now at the Dropsie College).

[50] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[51] As we have seen (cf. note 47) Frankfort assumes that a northern influence was at work in late Susa I. Is it not likely that we have here merely a repetition of an older process? The fact that painted pottery survived so much longer in Eastern Anatolia than in Mesopotamia and in Elam is also worth considering.

[52] Cf. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, p. 9.

[53] That we have here to deal with a mountain civilization is recognized by Woolley, *Al-'Ubaid*, 170.

[54] Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[55] Hall and Woolley, *Al-'Ubaid*, 9, against Thompson who considers the ware 'pre-Sumerian.' Woolley has since changed his position, and attributes now the painted pottery to Akkadians, cf. *The Sumerians*, p. 12. The Akkadians are identified by Woolley with the Martu, "known later as the Amurru," "who for all that their speech in historic times was Semitic, must have been of Asia Minor stock . . . ." This is a flagrant instance of begging the question. What is evident from these speculations is Woolley's desire to place the origin of the painted pottery in the North, the same thing that is advocated in these pages without, as I believe, resorting to a *tour de force*.

hand, to 'Semites,'[56] and to Aryans (Indo-Iranians).[57] Since we are primarily interested in the earlier ware we shall first take up the former set of suggestions. When they emerge into the light of history the Elamites and the Sumerians are both dwellers of the plain; and if our highland hypothesis of the origin of the prehistoric painted ceramics is correct, both must either be ruled out of this discussion, or else considered as invaders from the sub-Caucasian districts. In the case of the Sumerians this is not *a priori* impossible; in fact an assumption of this kind would fit in very well with the theory of the Caucasian origin of the Sumerian language.[58] But there is no conclusive evidence that the Sumerian ever used painted ware to any appreciable extent.[59] And as for Elam, that country is too far out of the way to account for the spread of the fabric under discussion. The one remaining possibility is to connect that ware with the original population of the whole Zagros range. The philological evidence of the proper names of proto-Hittite Anatolia, early Armenia, Kurdistan, and very likely Elam itself, scanty and insufficiently evaluated though it still is, lends color to the supposition that the wide belt which takes in those districts was occupied from earliest times by an ultimately related group, which the anthropologists would call "Armenoid" or "Anatolian," and the philologists "Caucasian."[60] The area covered by that linguistic evidence corresponds so closely to the sphere of distribution of the geometric and stylized fabrics that we are justified in combining here the evidence of archaeology and of philology, and

[56] Frankfort, especially in his latest summary appearing in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, VIII, pp. 217 ff. This publication reached me too late to be utilized more extensively.

[57] V. Christian, "Das erste Auftreten der Indogermanen in Vorderasien," *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, LVII, pp. 210 ff.

[58] Professor Langdon assumes also a racial relationship between the Sumerians and the "Armenoids," cf. *Excavations at Kish*, 64. His arguments, however, are far from convincing. On the basis of a study of eight defective crania found at Kish (only two were "fairly complete") Mr. Buxton states that "the 'Armenoid' people were almost certainly the original population of the River Land" (*ibid.*, p. 124). But that does not say that those 'original inhabitants' were Sumerians. I have suggested (see below) that the people who introduced the painted ware into the land were its first inhabitants and that they probably belonged to the group which may be called 'Armenoid.' The measurements of Mr. Buxton agree admirably with this theory. The Sumerians, on the other hand, are later arrivals and have little to do with the painted pottery.

[59] This is now generally recognized, cf. note 55. It must be remembered, however, that the philological evidence is of later date than the painted pottery. The latter antedates, of course, the inscriptional sources.

[60] Cf. the article on "A New Factor in the History of the Ancient East," *Annual of the ASOR*, VI, 75 ff. To the literature contained there, should be added: Contenau, "Les Tablettes de Kerkouk," *Babyloniaca*, ix, fasc. 2-4.

in postulating as a result an originally uniform "Zagros" or "Caucasian" group, to which the introduction of that remarkable pottery may now be attributed.[61]

As regards the later ware of the "Susa II" type, both the Semitic and Aryan theories of its origin are indirectly due to the fact that there are indisputable connections between the pottery of the second style of Susa and that of Palestine in the "Middle Bronze" period. The Aryan hypothesis of Prof. Christian is very interesting, but his chain of evidence contains too many serious gaps.[62] The arguments that have prompted P. Vincent and Mr. Frankfort to suggest the Semitic theory,[63] carry more conviction. The chief objection to this view is, as far as I can see, the total absence of any demonstrably 'Semitic' elements in Elam, assuming that it is quite unassailable to place in Northern Syria a powerful Semitic center of distribution whose influence is felt in Egypt, Cyprus, and Cappadocia, apart from Mesopotamia and Elam. It has been shown elsewhere that all the above-mentioned countries are practically coextensive with the sphere of influence which has been defined as Hurrian;[64] it is to the early Hurrians, therefore, that I should like to ascribe the spread of the fabric related to the ware of Susa II.[65] If this is true we would have here a clue to the relationship of the two civilizations of Susa. For the Hurrians are "Caucasian" with even greater probability than the earlier Zagros groups. The naturalistic style would in that case go back to a later wave originating in the same source from which the earlier style was derived. The early factors in the history of the Near East appear from this point of view in a new and powerful light illuminating a number of uncommonly fascinating vistas. So beguiling indeed are the possibilities which present themselves here that their very alluringness calls for great caution in operating with them. We can only hope for more information on the subject, so that established facts may be substituted for the present working hypotheses, which interesting and helpful though they may be, still carry a suggestion of trouble in their uncertainty.

[61] Cf. note 58.

[62] To use the people of Gutium as the connecting link (*loc. cit.*, p. 222 f.) in spite of the thoroughly non-Aryan character of their proper names is again begging the question.

[63] *Syria* V, 315, Frankfort, *Studies* I, 70 ff., II, 167, and n. 60.

[64] Cf. note 60. Conclusive evidence of the presence of Hurrians in Palestine may be gathered from the large percentage of Hurrian proper names in the cuneiform material from Tell Ta'anek, Palestine. Cf. A. Gustavs, "Die Personennamen von Tell Ta'anek," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vs. 50-51.

[65] The later spread of the 'Hurrian' glyptic art of Kirkuk is a very welcome supporting argument.

To return after this lengthy disgression to Gawra I, the question of date still remains to be settled. This can best be done in connection with the finds from Ur and el-'Obeid. The early graves of Ur, which are separated from the deposits of the First Dynasty by a sufficiently deep layer to be placed at about 3500 B. C.,[66] are yet considerably later than the painted pottery of that area. From public lectures by Mr. Woolley I gather that the silt between those graves and the top layer of painted potsherds is at Ur eight meters thick. Consequently, a round date of 4000 B. C. cannot be too early for that decorated ware. At Gawra we have el-'Obeid pottery in the later strata of the first civilization, so that the date of Gawra I is at least as early as that of the prehistoric pottery of Southern Mesopotamia. This is not surprising in view of the fact that Babylonia is so much further from the assumed center of distribution than the district north of Mosul. The only other find from Gawra I that may be used to determine its date is the little button-seal pictured in Fig. 71. A practically identical seal is given by Professor Legrain in his book on the *Culture of the Babylonians,* pl. LI.2. The author lists it among the very earliest finds from Southern Babylonia.

Gawra II. In their value as an added source for the early history of Mesopotamia the finds from Gawra II do not yield in importance to those of the preceding period. Most significant is perhaps the fact that the people who supplanted the neolithic inhabitants of Gawra I seem to have been equally unaquainted with the use of metal. On this point the evidence from our excavation is clear and unambiguous. The extensive area that was uncovered in the Shrine precincts yielded a considerable collection of obsidian cores and a fair number of flints, but of copper there was not the slightest trace to be found. Evidently, then, the second civilization of Gawra was still anterior to the Bronze Age, though it must be admitted that the introduction of metal into Northern Mesopotamia need not have been contemporaneous with the beginning of the Bronze Period in the region around the Persian Gulf. However, the seal impression found in the Shrine (Fig. 91) points to a very early date. Stamp-seals similarly arranged (a canine over an ibex and an antelope) certainly go back into the fourth millennium.

In order to glean what information we can about the people of this period it will be best to concentrate our inquiry upon the Shrine. It has been pointed out that the use of brick in a rocky district can have been due at that remote date only to the archaizing attitude that is customary in matters connected with religion. In other words, in building their Temple of

[66] Cf. the exhaustive treatment of the subject by Gadd in *Al-'Ubaid,* p. 140; also Woolley, *The Sumerians,* p. 9.

burnt brick the people of Gawra II were merely following the customs of their ancestors, in whose country stone was either rare or non-existent. Now these conditions obtain primarily in the alluvial plain of Southern Mesopotamia. Other indications also point in the same direction. The failure to use stone foundations for brick structures, as is the case with our Shrine, has been characterized as typically 'Babylonian.'[67] Further, there are interesting correspondences between the shapes of vessels from Gawra II and from early deposits in the South.[68] We must conclude, therefore, that the invaders who drove out the makers of painted pottery came from the lower part of the valley of the Two Rivers.

In all other respects the connections of Gawra II with the outside are a matter of more or less uncertainty. No exact parallel can be found to the groundplan of the Shrine, judging from the part laid bare. The arrangement whereby the sanctum sanctorum is placed against the narrower wall of the Temple may be termed 'Assyrian.'[69] But in our case the cella faces the main entrance and that is not true of the archaic temples of Ashur. On the other hand, the elevation of terra-cotta found in the cult chamber of the Shrine may be compared with a similar podium discovered by Dr. Andrae in the G Temple of his Ishtar structures in Ashur.[70] There seem to be some similarities and there are also differences between Gawra II and the lower strata of Qal'at Sherqat. The relationship between the two could not have been very close. The disparity in time may perhaps account partly for the differences. The H and G strata of Ashur belong to the Early Bronze Age while Gawra II is earlier, as we have seen. However, since too much recourse must be had here to guesses, we had better wait for more material on this subject.

Of the objects found in the Shrine the most characteristic are undoubtedly the horns and the phallic piece (Figs. 89, 104-5). Both are, so far, unique in Mesopotamia. With regard to the former, I can only think of 'the horns of consecration' from Crete as a parallel,[71] and that cannot help us very much

[67] Andrae, *Die archaischen Ischtar-Tempel*, p. 28.

[68] Cf. *e. g.*, the stone plate from the Shrine (Fig. 88) with the al-'Ubaid type XXVIII (pl. LXII), which occurs according to Woolley (*ibid.*, p. 183) in conjunction with types from early graves. A close parallel *in shape* may be pointed out between the coal-brazier from the Shrine (Fig. 90) and the Susian specimen given in *Mém.*, XIII, pl. XII, 1.

[69] Andrae, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[70] *Ibid.*, pl. 6.

[71] Cf. especially *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXI (1901), pp. 135 ff. It is not necessary to go at present into the possible connection of such horns with the Biblical 'horns of the altar.'

at present. The significant thing about the phallic object is its distinct imitation of circumcision. That circumcision was practiced by Egyptians and Western Semites is a well known fact. In Babylonia this practice does not appear to have been in vogue.[72] We are thus confronted with the difficult task of determining the identity of a people that came into the valley of the Khosr from the South prior to the introduction of metal, and who brought with it the non-Babylonian custom of circumcision. Tentatively this problem may be solved as follows: the invaders in question were 'Semites,' who had left the southern lowlands before the arrival of the Sumerians and the consequent spread of the use of copper. Those early conquerors of Northern Mesopotamia circumcised their males in common with other members of the large group of peoples speaking Semitic languages. To the Sumerians circumcision was foreign; in this respect they influenced the Babylonian Semites, or Akkadians, whose religion in general they affected to a pronounced degree. According to this view the Semites preceded the Sumerians in Babylonia. It is perhaps needless to add that the above theory is suggested with all the reservations appropriate to the paucity of sources from which it has been pieced together.

Gawra III. With Gawra III we enter more familiar territory and the period can be dismissed with a few remarks. For the first time we face here a people in whose description we can go further than mere conjectures. With the Early Bronze Age we pass into 'historical' times. The date of the period may best be gathered from the cylinder-seals found in this deposit (Figs. 126-8). Both the shape (two of the seals are concave) and the contents of the cylinders cause us to place them in what Professor Legrain calls the Early Sumerian and Sumero-Akkadian periods.[73] The copper objects resemble closely the corresponding specimens from Ur and el-'Obeid, dated in the First Dynasty of Ur, so that we may place the beginning of Gawra III at about the turn of the fourth millennium (3250- 2750 B. C.). The 'fountain-head' vessel belongs to a later stratum and the cup given in Fig. 113 probably brings us close to the second millennium. The people who, with the aid of their novel metal implements, destroyed the Shrine settlement and built the powerful retaining wall were, then, Sumero-Akkadians of pre-Sargonide days. It is worth noting that Dr. Andrae places the destruction of his G stratum at Ashur in the early Sargonide times.[74] It would be tempting

[72] Cf. Ebeling in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, I, p. 446 a. The Mesopotamian sculptures are in this respect non-committal, but the absence of circumcision may be inferred from the passages in which the 'foreskins' are mentioned.

[73] *Culture of the Babylonians*, p. 11 ff.

[74] *Op cit.*, p. 118.

to compare the proto-Assyrians of the H and G strata with the people of Gawra II. But in the first place, the Shrine period had no metal while early Ashur was copper-using; moreover the Ishtar Temple of the G stratum differs considerably from the Temple at Gawra. Consequently it is necessary to synchronize the builders of the first two archaic Ishtar Temples with the people of the lowest layer in Gawra III. Actual relationship between the two groups need not, of course, be assumed.

To sum up, the trial trenches at Gawra have produced information of unusual importance. For an out-of-the-way corner of Mesopotamia we have obtained evidence of occupation in very early times by three distinct cultural groups. The order of succession of those groups is in itself a valuable contribution. Scattered indications as to the character of the peoples in question have not been wanting. What is, however, of more than local consequence is the incidental information about conditions in the South, which Gawra has furnished. The order of events in both parts of Mesopotamia appears to have been so very much alike at the junction of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages that the North and the South may be combined for the purpose of this closing sketch.

The earliest observable movement brings the Painted Ware Culture from the northern highlands, in which it most likely originated, down to the head of the Persian Gulf. This "Proto-Zagros" civilization established the first settlements at Gawra as well as in the South.

As the accumulating silt of the Two Rivers kept on adding to the inhabitable area of the fruitful plain, stone-using Semites from North Arabia, and possibly also from the West, gradually found their way to the newly opened low-lands; the northern invasion is checked by a counter-movement from the opposite direction. The highlanders are constantly pushed back towards their mountains until the entire region is cleared of them as far as the foothills of the Zagros.

In the meantime the fame of the fruitful lands in the narrow and elongated channel between the Tigris and the Euphrates brings to the country a third racial group, the Sumerians,[75] who come a longer distance, probably by sea, and drive in a wedge, so to speak, between the warring elements of North and South. That wedge does not penetrate beyond the Middle Euphrates, where the contest between the Semitic 'Amorites' and the 'Anatolians' continues uninterrupted down to the second millennium. But Lower Mesopotamia undergoes a profound transformation. Metal and writing make their

[75] Woolley assumes the same order of events (cf. *The Sumerians*, p. 6), but I find it entirely impossible to follow his ethnic speculations.

appearance and the Sumero-Akkadian civilization slowly emerges into the full light of history. So powerful is this combination of old and new resources that it sweeps before it everything on the way to Asia Minor and the Mediterranean. A score of centuries later the period of 'The King of Battle,' now a Heroic Age embellished by legend, still excites wonderment and admiration.

4. Catalogue of the Illustrations

Note: The remarks following the titles are limited generally to such features as are not evident from the drawing or the photograph. In connection with the larger objects the word 'Baghdad' indicates that the piece is now in the Iraq Museum. Otherwise it is assumed that the finds are in the Dropsie College, Philadelphia. The numbers refer to the illustration figures.

1. Aerial view of the trial trenches at Tepe Gawra.
2. Map of Tepe Gawra and surroundings.
3. Contours and elevations of the mound.
4. Plan of the trenches at the end of the excavation.
5. Sections of the two trenches.
6-11. Plans at various levels.
12-13. Plans of levels above the Shrine.
14. View of the Shrine.
15. Section of the S. W. wall of the Shrine.
16. Plan of the Shrine.
17. Sections showing type of bonding used in the Shrine.
18. Plan at level M*4* and section of the water conduit.
19-22. Reconstructions of larger vases; 19 comes from K*3*, 20 from J*1*, 21-22 from M*4*.
23. Painted fragment (to be abbreviated as Pf.); reddish clay, sepia-black decoration; square B*1*.
24. Pf.; reddish clay; decor. red; C*1*.
25. Pf.; reddish clay; decor. sepia-black; E*2*.
26. Pf.; light pinkish clay; decor. inside top: red circle bordered by two black ones; outside: figures in black bordered by red; B*2*.
27. Pf.; clay pink-drab; decor. dark brown; C*1*.
31. Pf.; clay greenish-grey; decor. black; C*2*.
32. Pf.; reddish clay; decor, red; E*3*.
33. Pf.; clay drab; decor. black; D*3*.
34. Pf.; clay grey, very well fired; decor. black with a tinge of green; F*2*.
35. Pf.; clay greyish; decor. black; E*3*.
36. Pf.; red-drab clay; decor. red; B*2*.
37. Pf.; reddish clay; decor. red and black (lattice); B*2*.
38. Pf.; pinkish clay; decor. red; C*2*.

39. Pf.; reddish clay; decor. outside and inside (wavy lines) red; B*4*.
40. Pf.; grey clay; decor. black; A*1*.
41. Pf.; drab clay, poorly fired; surface creamy white, decor. dark brown bordered by red lines; B*3*.
42. Pf.; clay drab; decor. dark brown; C*2*.
43. Pf.; pink clay; decor. red; C*2*.
44. Pf.; clay and decor. as above; B*4*.
45. Pf.; clay light red; surface buff, decor. sepia; F*5*.
46. Pf.; clay light red; decor. dark red lines and sepia dots, partly faded; B*4*.
47. Pf.; clay reddish; surface buff; decor. black on the inside (left), black and bright red on the outside; D*3*.
48. Pf.; clay drab; surface creamy white, decor. dark brown; F*6*.
49. Pf.; details as above; E*3*.
50. Pf.; clay reddish, very well fired; surface drab, decor. sepia in lustrous paint; probably hand-turned; G*5*.
51. Pf.; clay reddish; decor. dark brown bordered by red; F*3*.
52. Pf.; greenish-grey clay; decor. black; B*3*.
53. Pf.; clay drab; surface creamy white, decor. dark brown; F*2*.
54. Pf.; reddish clay; surface buff, decor. deep red, partly faded; B*4*.
55. Pf.; clay greenish-grey; decor. black; F*1*.
56. Pf.; details as above; F*2*.
57. Pf.; clay grey; decor. dark brown; E*4*.
58. Pf.; details as above; D*3*.
59. Lamp; clay dark brown, poorly fired; ht. 32 mm. diam. 52 mm.; hand-made; D*4*.
60. Ledge-handle; C*2*.
61. Lug-handle, vertically pierced for suspension; D*2*.
62. Lug-handle, horizontally pierced; B*1*.
63. Pf. with loop-handle; E*3*.
64[a]. Unpainted "burial-vessel," reconstructed; ht. 420 mm. diam. 460 mm.; G*4*.
64[b]-70. Terra-cotta figurines; dark brown poorly baked clay.
64. Seated human figure, headless; width 32 mm. B*4* (Baghdad).
65. Same as 64[b]; width 42 mm.; there is a decoration of dark-brown vertical lines on the back; B*2*.
66-68. Animal figurines from D*2*.
68-70. Animal figurines from F*2*. The clay is light grey, well fired; probably later than the preceding figures.
71. Button-seal of brown sandstone; G*3*.
72. Gable-seal of red marble; surface find, but probably of the Gawra I period.
73. Fragment with appliqué decoration; F*1*, hence possibly washed down from a higher level.

74. Painted pottery stand; dark-brown clay, decor. brown, ht. 32 mm. diam. 54 mm.; D*4*.
75. Goblet of poorly baked dark-brown clay; ht. 114 mm. diam. 175 mm.; G*2*.
76. Painted fragments photographed.
77. Top: selected obsidian cores and flakes. Center: basalt celt. Bottom: flint and chert implements. Gawra I and II.
78. Upper register: animal figurines of terra-cotta, Gawra II. Lower register: pottery figures and lamp, Gawra I.
79. Top: pottery wall-nails and cones, Gawra I. Center: marble saucer and ivory beads, Gawra I. Bottom: Beads of carnelian, lapis-lazuli, agate, and rock-crystal, Gawra III.
80. "Fountain-head" vase, section and view; ht. 320 mm., diam. 320 mm.; reddish clay, light-brown surface; L*3* (Baghdad).

81-87. Pottery from Gawra II and III.

81. Flask, greenish-grey, rather coarse clay; ht. 68 mm., diam. 70 mm. I*1*.
82. Flask, drab clay; ht. 97, diam. 75 mm.; I*1*.
83. Flask, greenish-grey clay; ht. 100, diam. 88 mm.; I*1*.
84. Tumbler, greyish clay; ht. 75, diam. 61 mm.; L*3* (Gawra III).
85. Vase, light-grey clay, grooved round the shoulder; wheel-made; ht. 78, diam. 75 mm. K*2* (Gawra III).
86. Bowl, wheel-made; clay greenish-grey, very fine ware; ht. 62, diam. 70 mm.; M*3* (Gawra III).
87. Flask with pointed base, coarse finish; reddish-drab clay; ht. 102, diam. 122 mm.; L*3* (Gawra III).
88. Stone plate from Shrine, found near the entrance of the cella; ht. 72, diam. 226 mm. (Baghdad).
89. Baked-clay horns from Shrine (for exact position cf. Fig. 16); 210 by 225 mm. (Baghdad).
90. Coal brazier of porous stone from Shrine (cf. Fig. 16); ht. 305, diam. 360 mm.
91. Reconstruction of stamp-seal from several impressions in clay, found in the cult-chamber of the Shrine.
92. Terra-cotta animal, greyish clay; J*2*.
93. Marble object, possibly sling-stone; I*2*.
94. Mace-head of quartz, with tang preserved; 55 by 60 mm.; I*1*.
95. Miniature "tear-cup" of drab clay; ht. 16 mm., diam. 21 mm.; found in the storage room of the Shrine (cf. Fig. 16).
96. Terra-cotta dog, for wheels, with loop for pulling; reddish clay; I*1*.
97. "Covered wagon" of greyish-green clay; incised skeuomorphic decoration; ht. 62 mm., width 45 mm., length 68 mm.; K*4*.
98. Votive couch of greyish-green clay; incised and appliqué skeuomorphic decoration; ht. 79 mm., width 42 mm., length 129 mm.; two feet broken off; K*4*.
99. Part of terra-cotta dog, cf. Fig. 96. I*1*.

100. Votive "sedan-chair" incomplete at the top; 35 by 30 by 32 plus mm. K*4*.
101. Photograph of the objects in Figs. 96-100.
102. Selected pottery from Gawra II and III, photographed.
103. Stone implements and weapons from Gawra II.
104. Photograph of phallic object from Shrine.
105. Drawing of the above object; ht. 97 mm., base 51 by 41 mm.
106. Top: knife-handle (Jc), colander (I*1*), and fragment with incised decoration (J*1*). Center: Spools from Gawra II and III. Bottom: Spindle whorls from Gawra I.
107. Vase, wheel-made, reddish clay; ht. 162, diam. 200 mm.; J*1*.
108. Lid of dark clay, surface black; ht. 68, diam. 130 mm., Jf.
109. Saucer, wheel-made, red-drab clay, well baked; ht. 50, diam. 112 mm.; J*1*.
110. Saucer, wheel-made, greenish-grey clay; ht. 40, diam. 112 mm.; J*1*.
111. Vase in which most of the copper objects and two of the cylinder-seals were found; grey clay, reddish slip; ht. 220, diam. 180 mm.; J*1*.
113. Wheel-made cup with small ring-stand; the neck is decorated with two red-painted circles; ht. 94, diam. 73 mm.; M*2*.
114. Delicately shaped wheel-made vase of greenish-grey clay, partly blackened by fire; ht. 80, diam. 88 mm.; J*1*.
115. Small wheel-made bowl of greenish-grey clay; ht. 41, diam. 60 mm.; Jf.
116. Flask partly warped and fused by fire; dark-grey clay; ht. 62, diam. 75 mm.; J*1*.
117. Animal figurine of greenish-grey clay; L*2*.
118. Small wheel-made bowl of greenish-grey clay, well-fired; ht. 56, diam. 80 mm.; Ja.
119. Reconstruction (partial) of a tripod dish; coarse drab clay; Ja.
120. Pottery wheel, Jd.
121. Pottery spool from I*1* (Gawra II).
122. The same from Jf (Gawra III).
123. Scaraboid object of baked clay; ht. 26 mm., base 51 by 45 mm.; Jb.
124. Broken terra-cotta snake; Jd.
125. Clay mould of greenish-grey, well-baked clay; ht. 35, base 48 by 63 mm.; Jf.
126. Concave cylinder-seal of black diorite; adoration scene; J*1*.
127. Concave cylinder-seal; Ea and the streams; J*1*.
128. Cylinder-seal of black diorite; A Gilgamesh motive; J*1*.
129. Selected pottery from Gawra III, photographed.
130-135. Selected copper objects from Gawra III, photographed.

Fig. 1. Aerial View of the Trial Trenches at Tepe Gawra.
Courtesy of the British Royal Air Force.

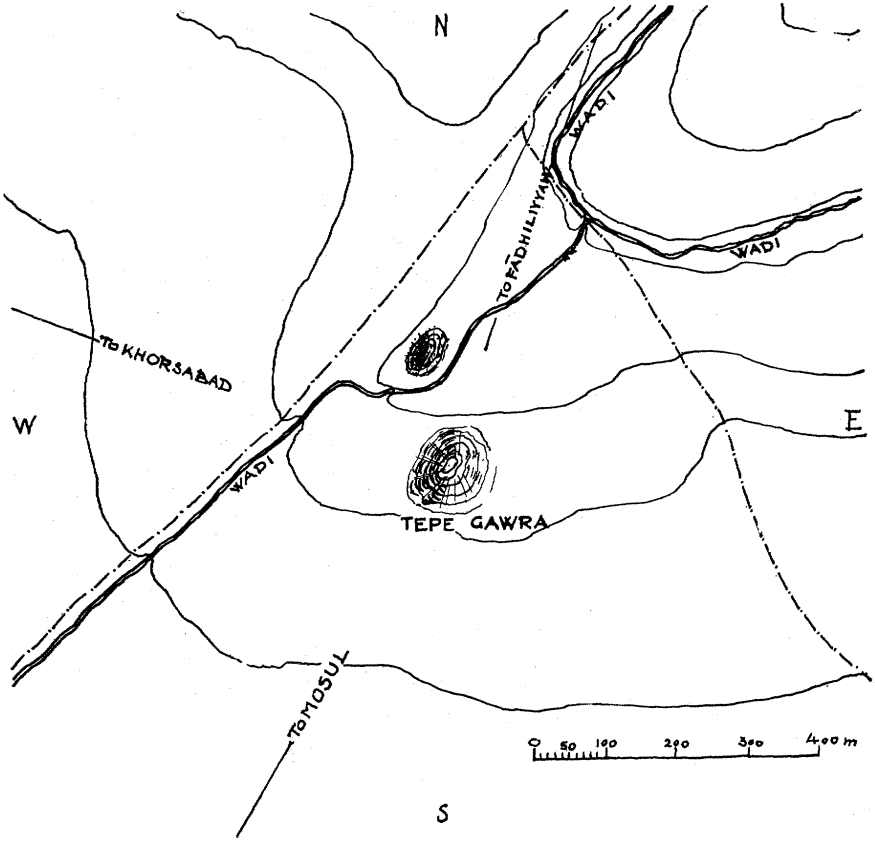


Fig. 2. Map of Tepe Gawra and Surroundings.

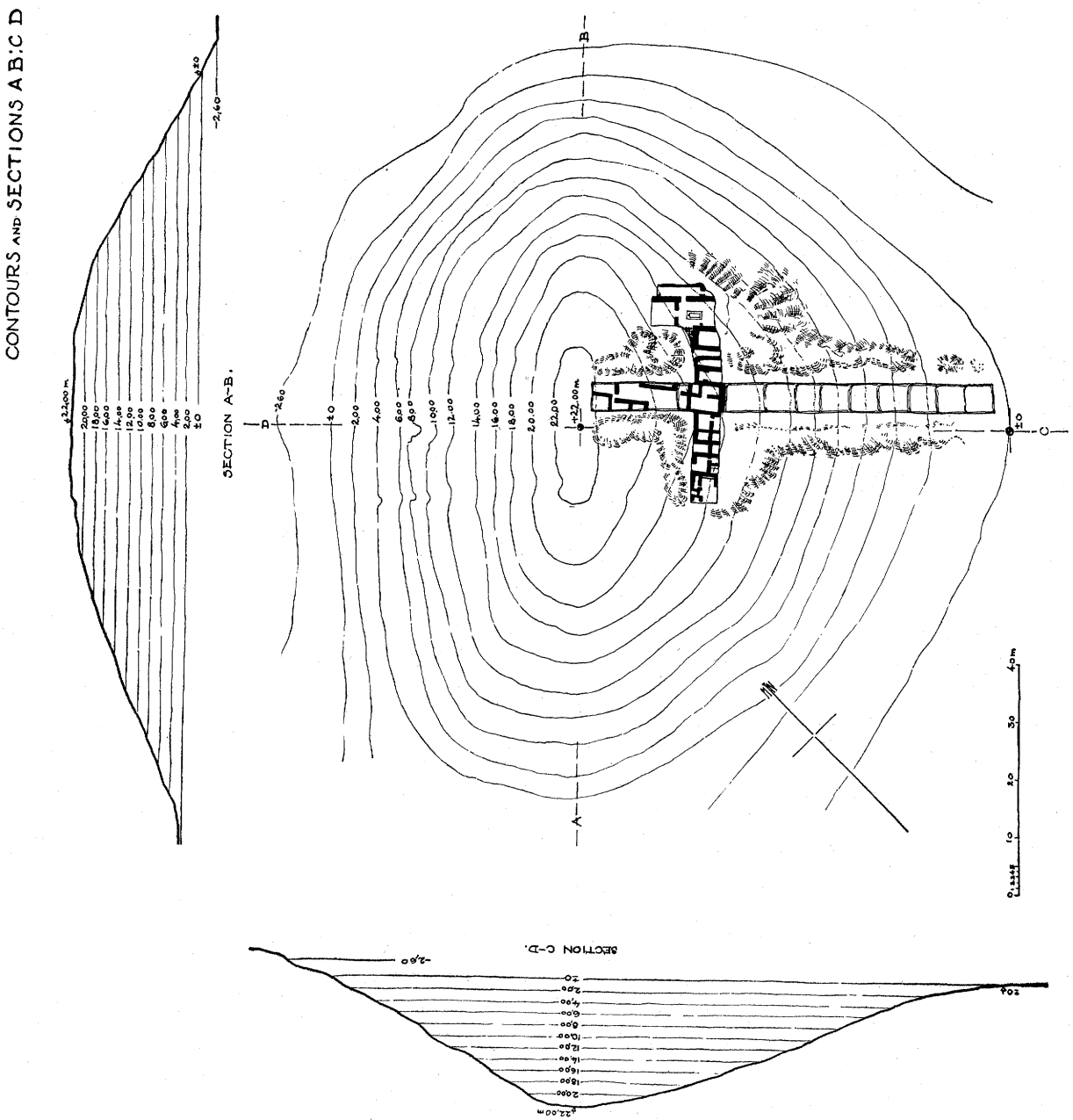

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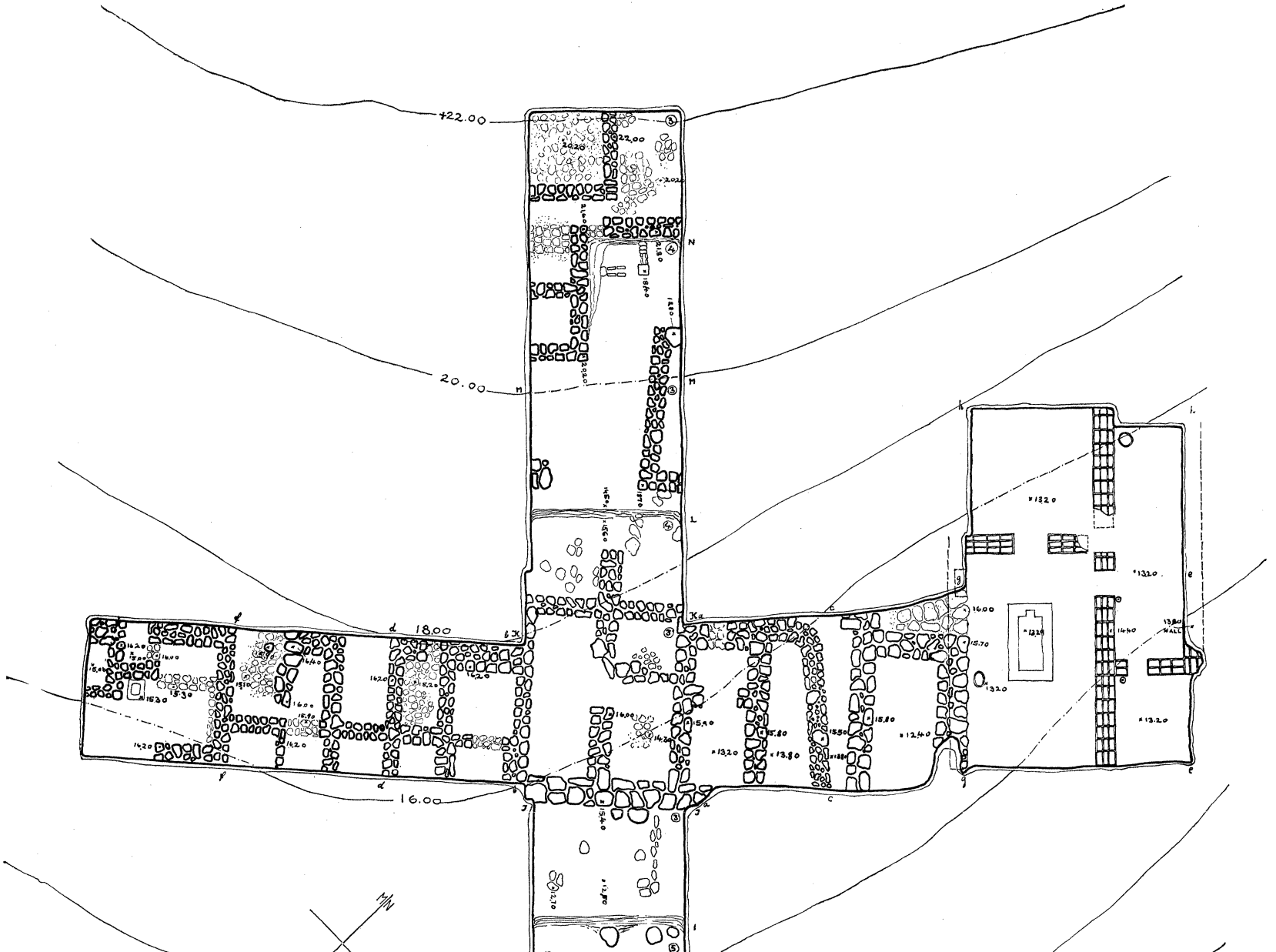
Fig. 3 a, b, c.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GENERAL VIEW OF THE TRENCHES AT THE END
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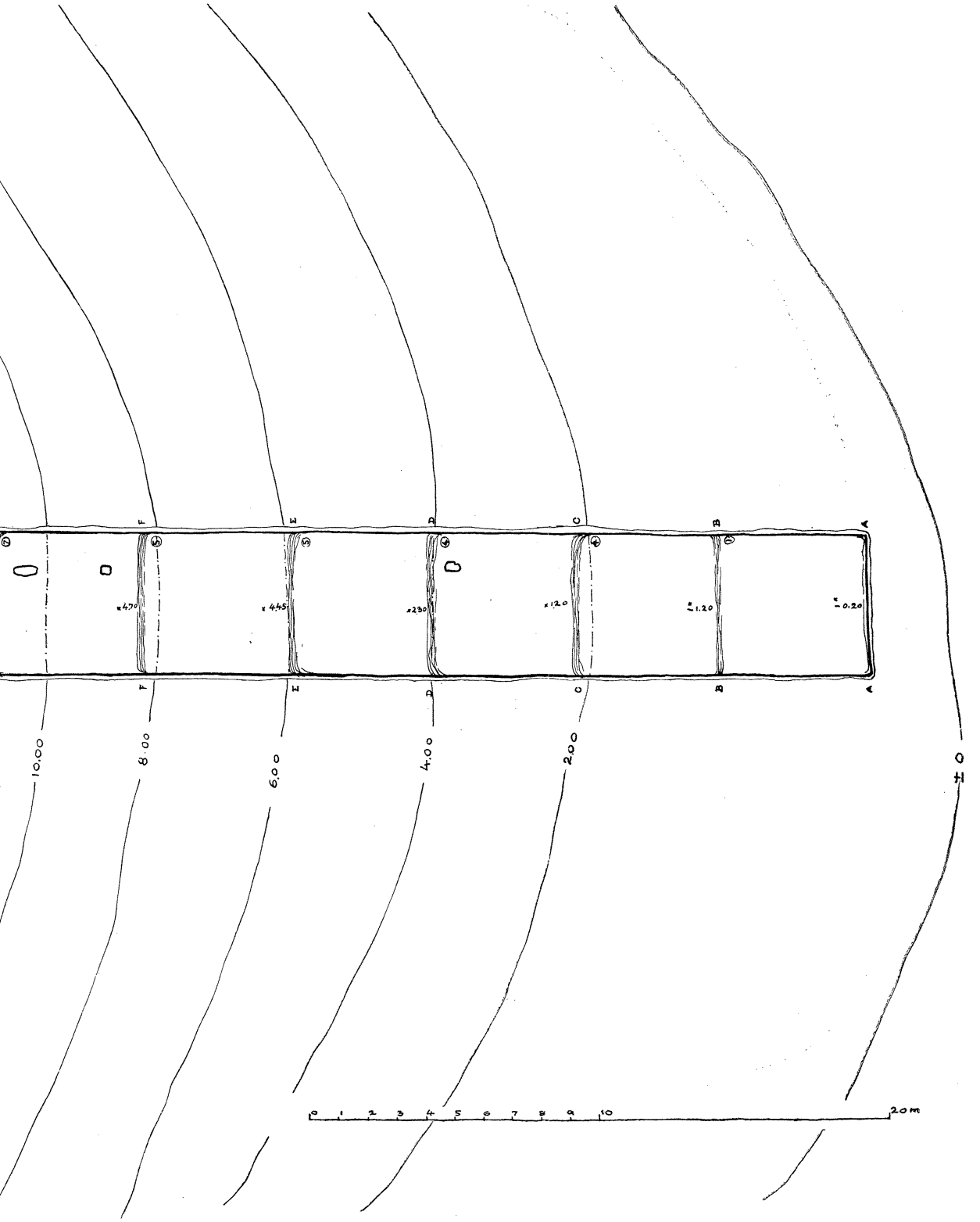
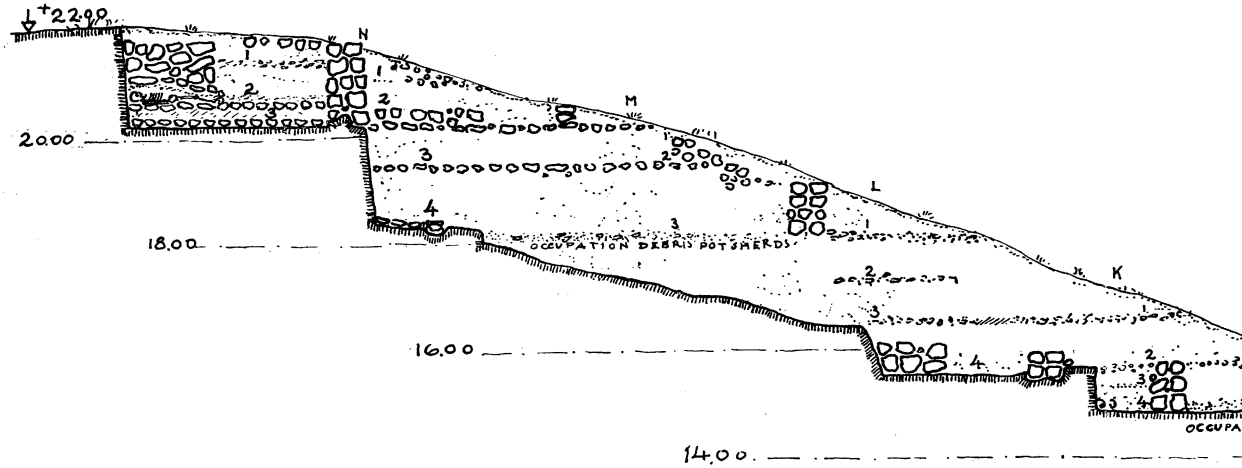
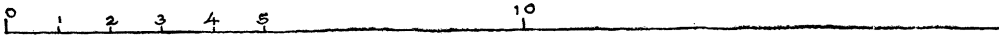
Fig. 4.

THE TRENCHES AT THE END OF THE EXCAVATION.





SECTION THROUGH SQUARES A TO N



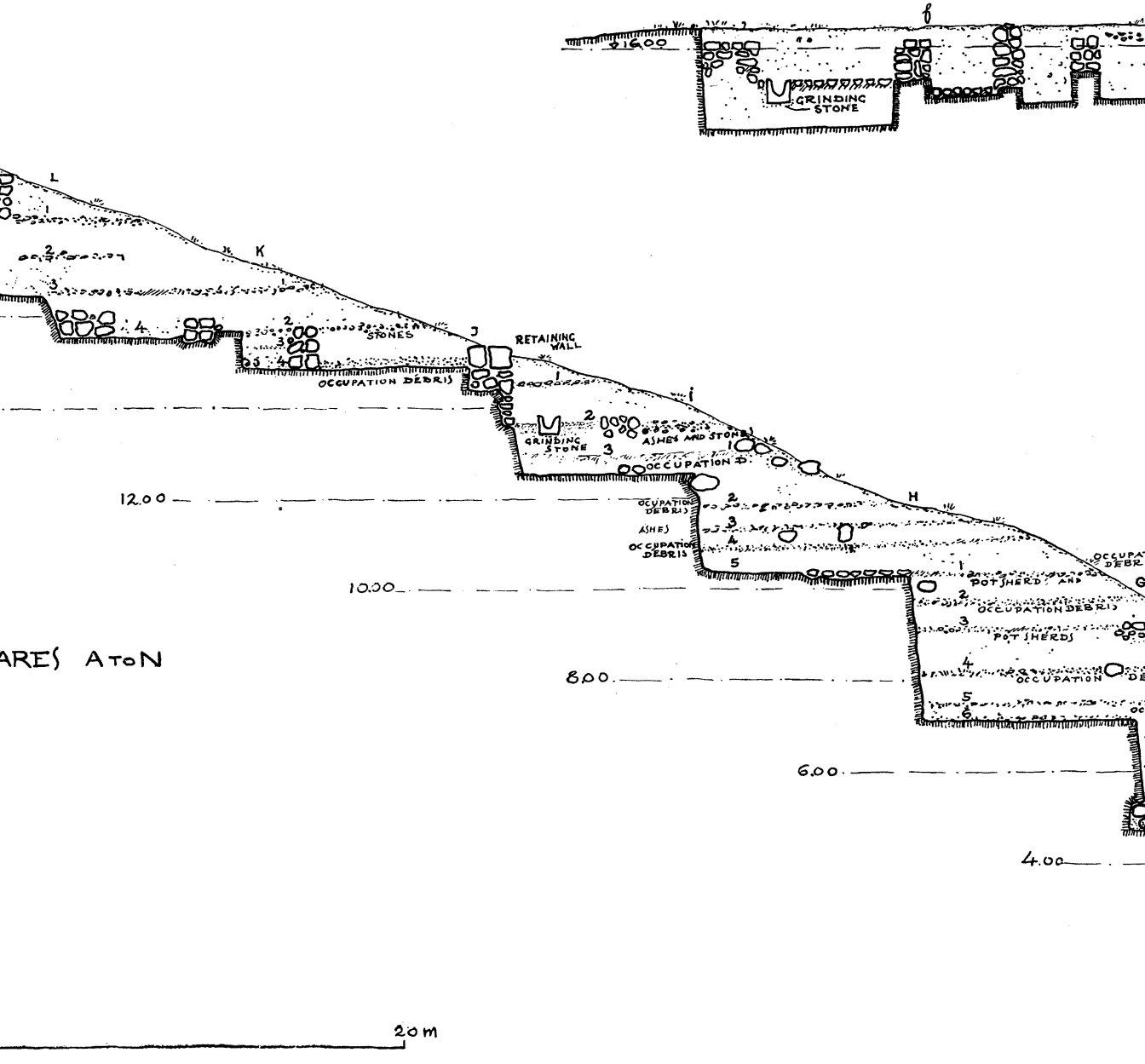

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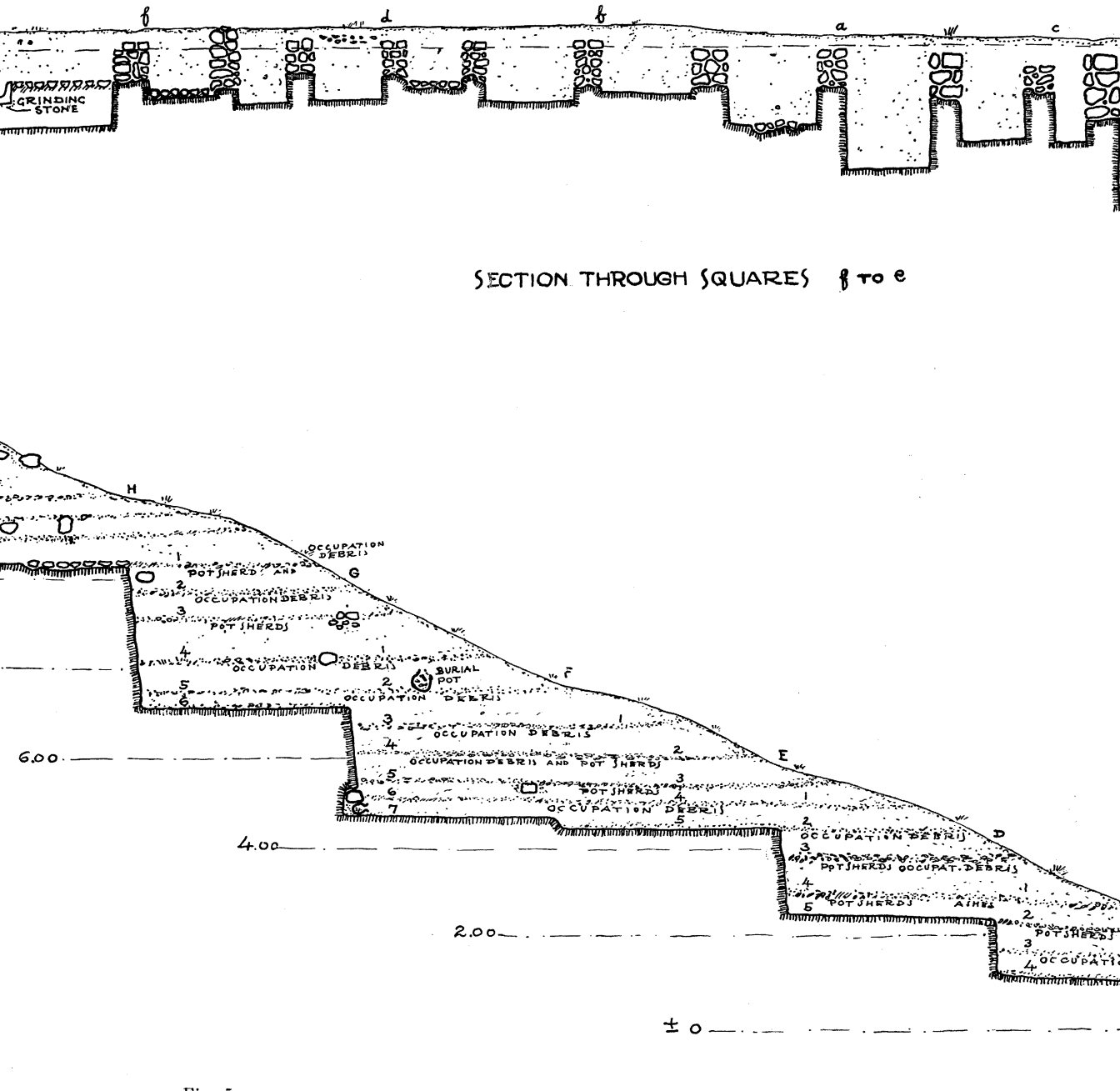
Fig. 5.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GRINDING STONE
SECTION THROUGH SQUARES f TO e
H
G
F
E
D
OCCUPATION DEBRIS
POTSHERDS AND
OCCUPATION DEBRIS
POT SHERDS
OCCUPATION DEBRIS
BURIAL POT
OCCUPATION DEBRIS
OCCUPATION DEBRIS
OCCUPATION DEBRIS AND POT SHERDS
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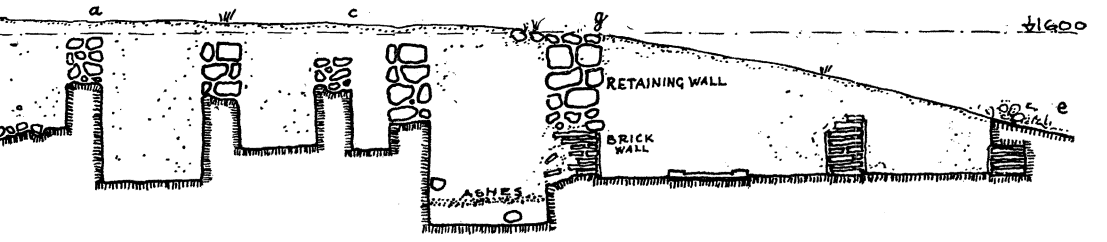
Fig. 5.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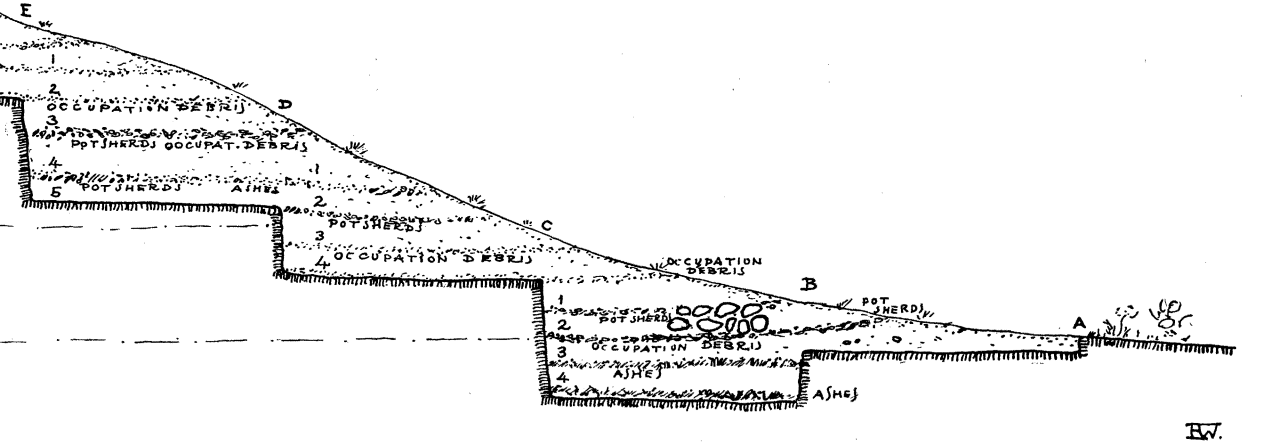
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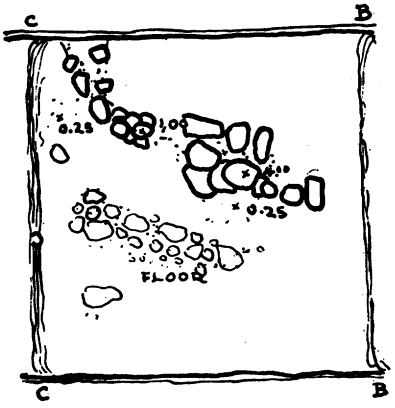


Fig. 6. Level B2.

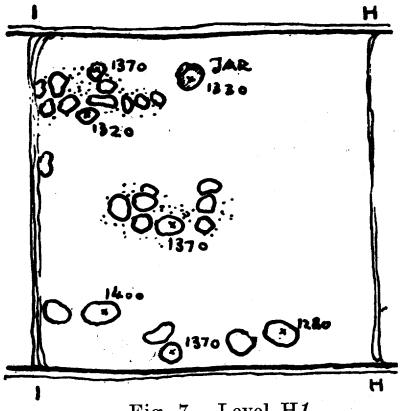


Fig. 7. Level H1.

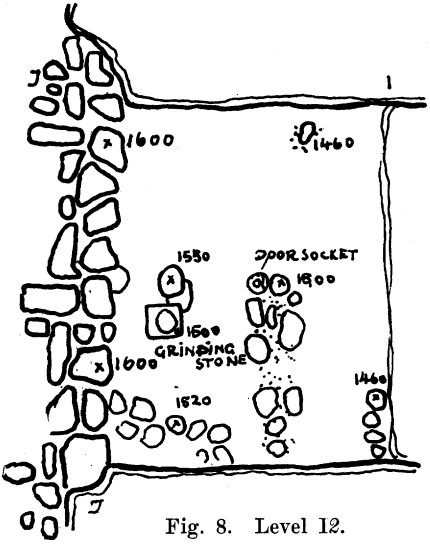


Fig. 8. Level I2.

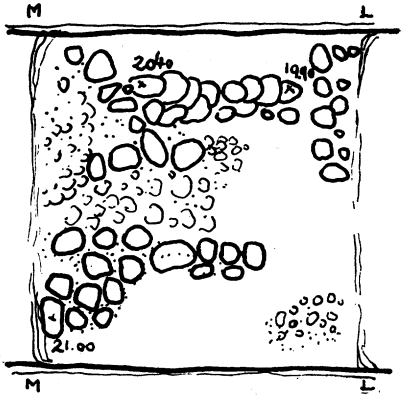


Fig. 9. Level L2.

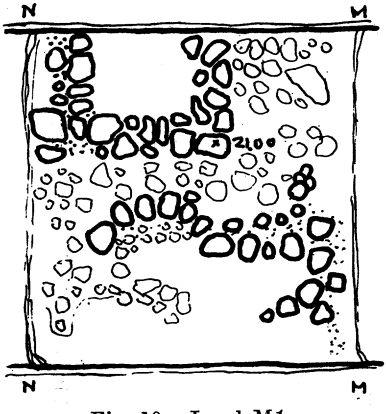


Fig. 10. Level M1.

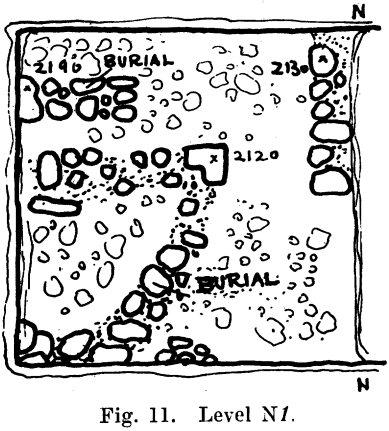


Fig. 11. Level N1.

Plans at Various Levels—Scale 1: 100.

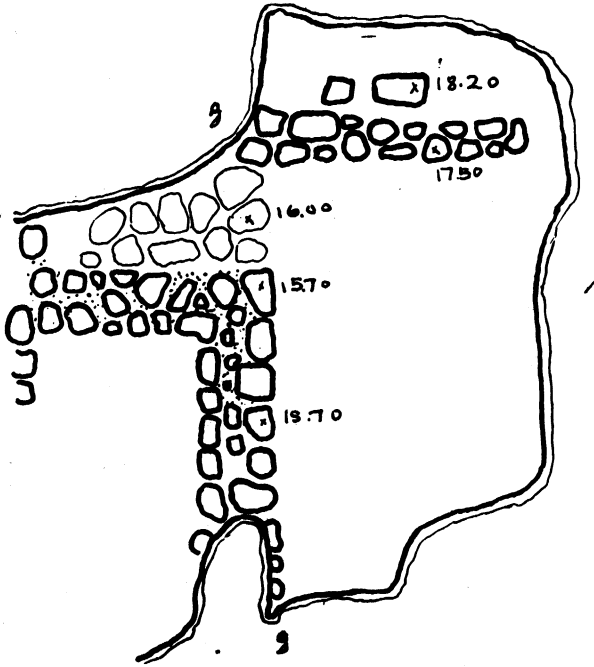


Fig. 12. Level Jg*1*. Gawra III. Plans of levels above the Shrine.

Fig. 13. Level Jg-h2. Scale 1: 100.

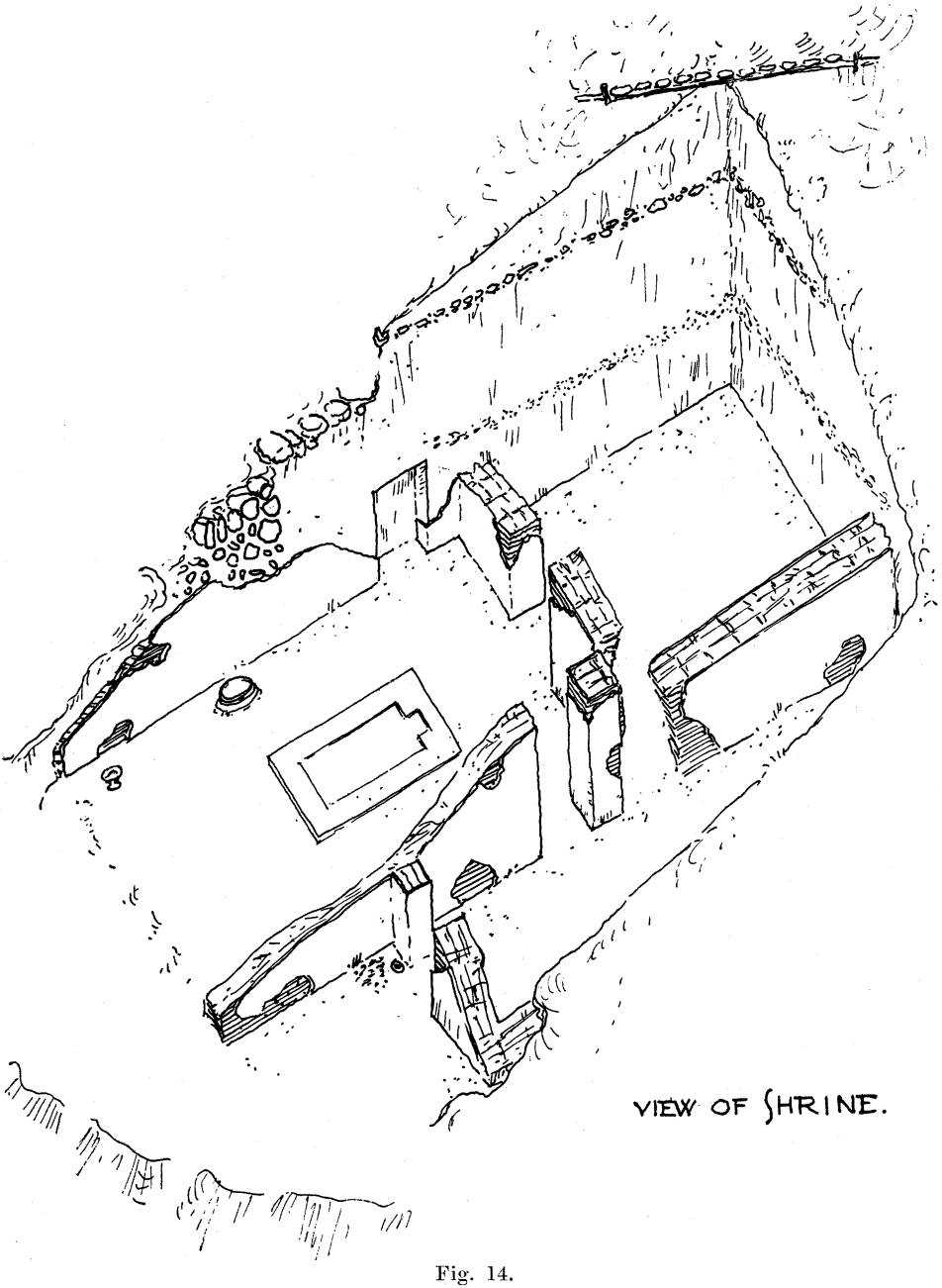


Fig. 14.

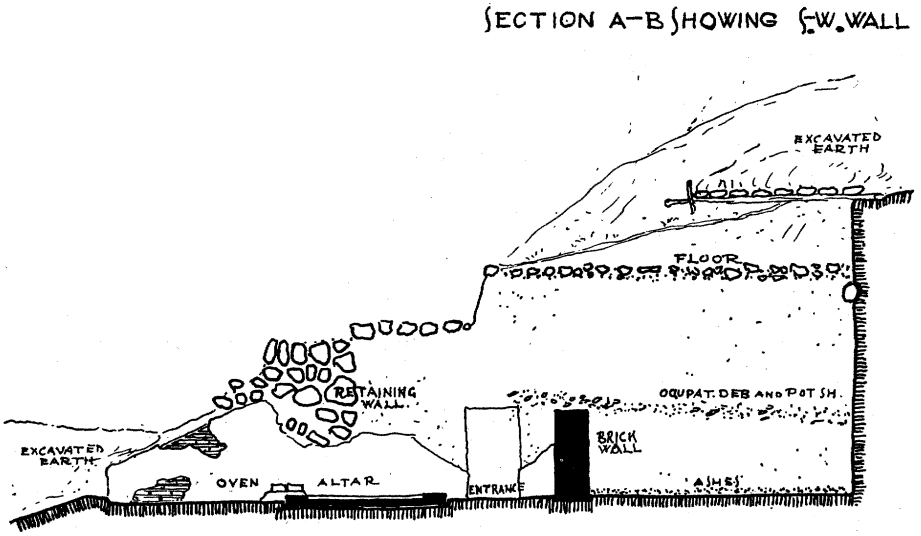


Fig. 15. Section A-B Showing S. W. Wall.

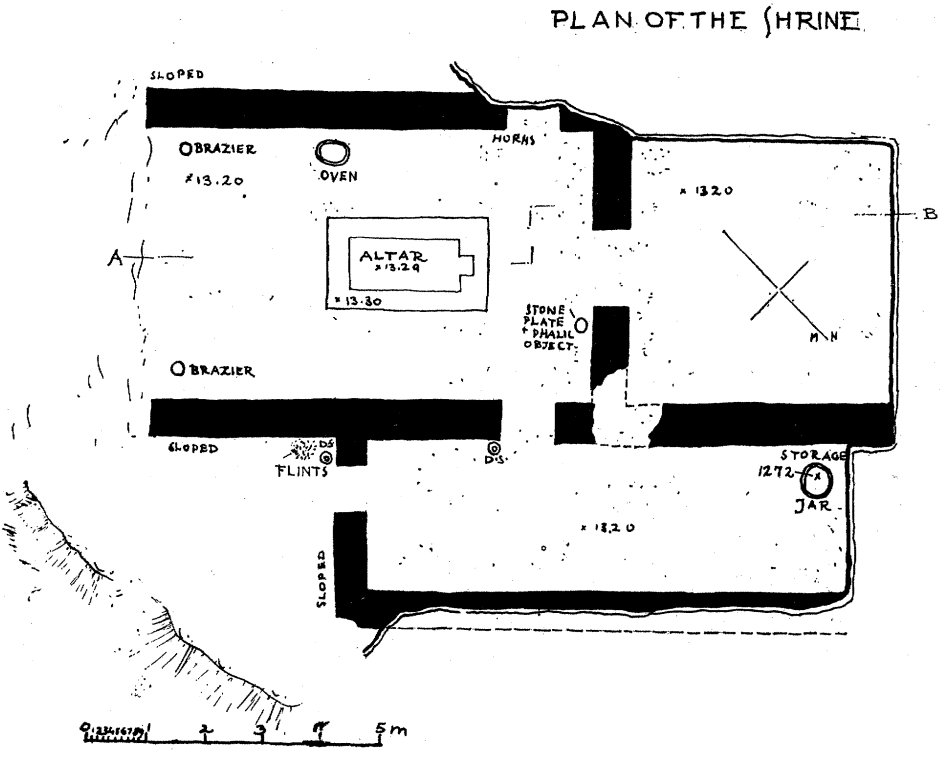


Fig. 16. Plan of the Shrine.

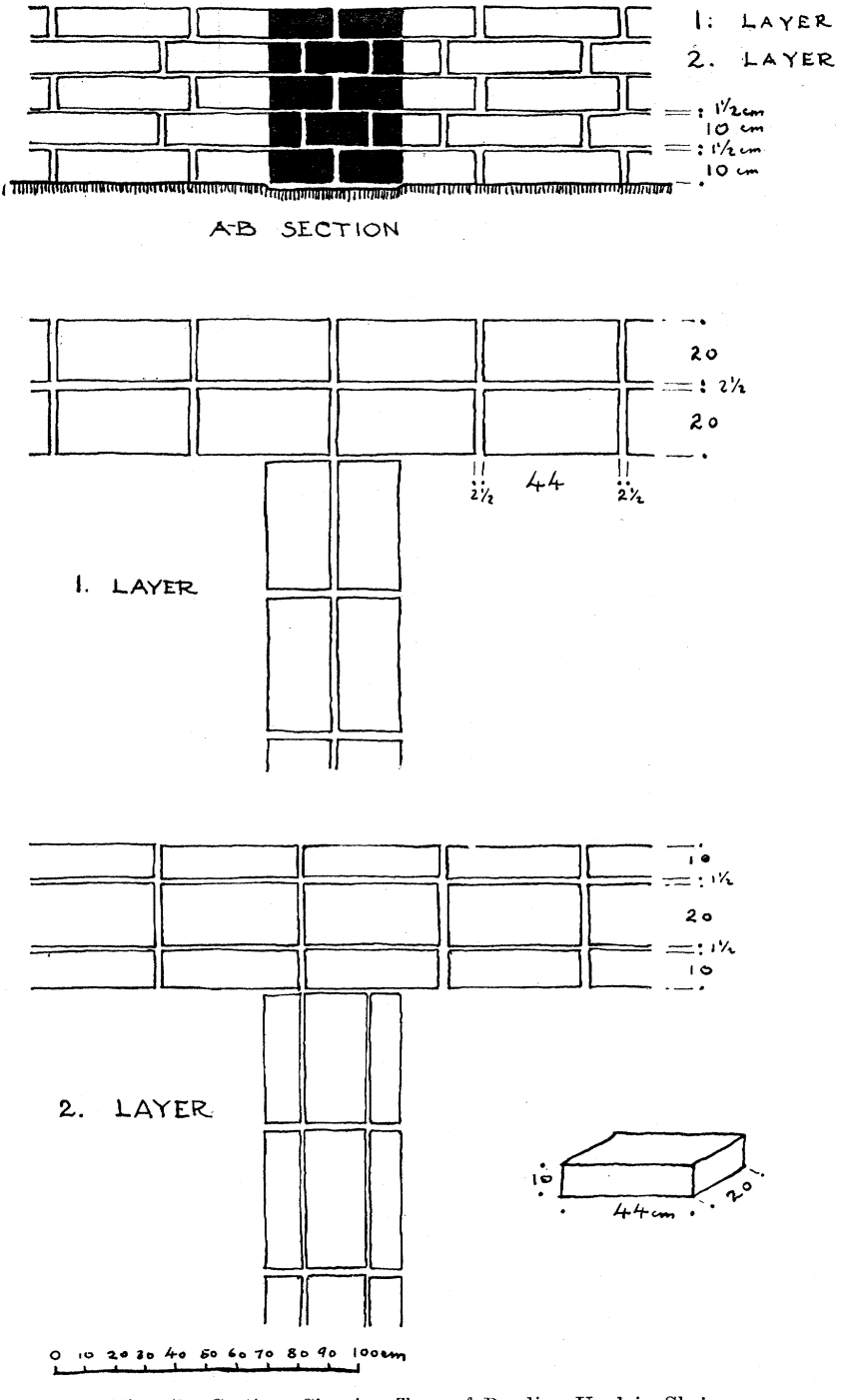


Fig. 17. Sections Showing Type of Bonding Used in Shrine.

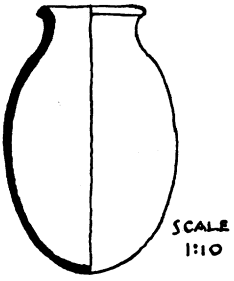


Fig. 19.

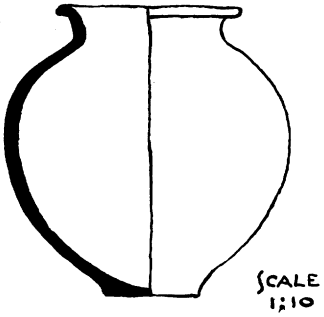


Fig. 20.

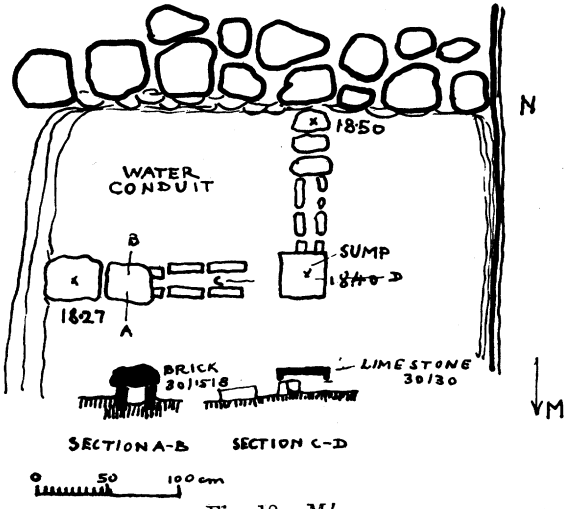


Fig. 18. M4.

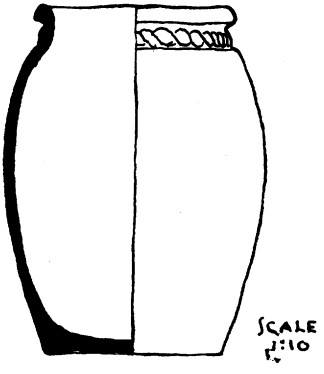


Fig. 21.

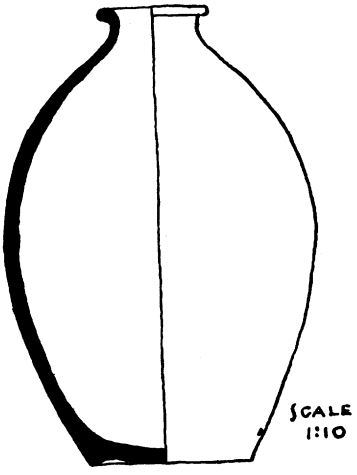


Fig. 22.

Plan of Water Conduit and Reconstructions of Larger Vases.

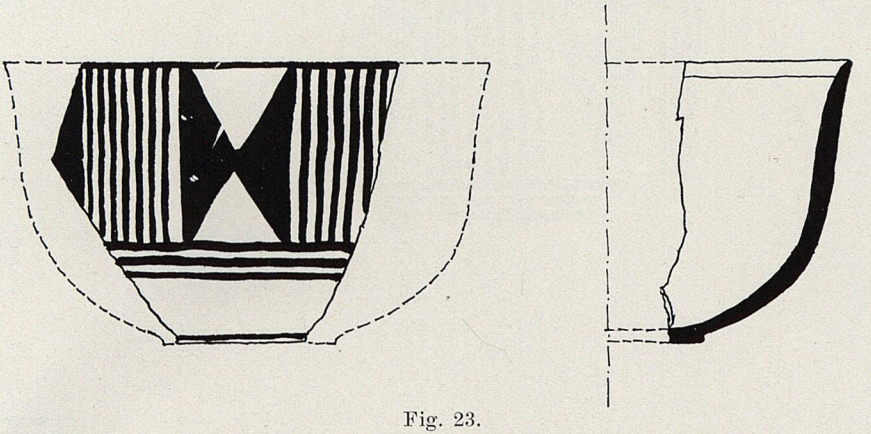


Fig. 23.

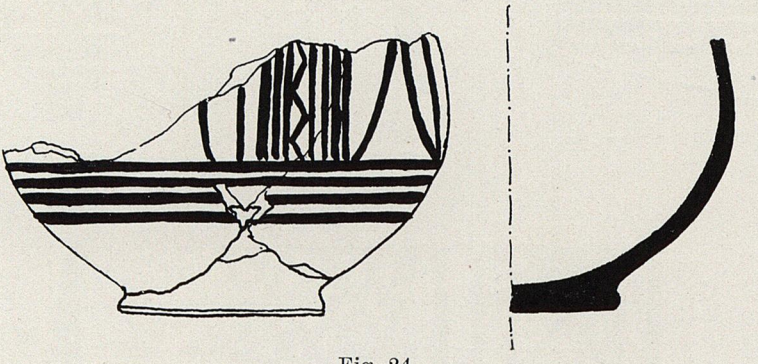


Fig. 24.

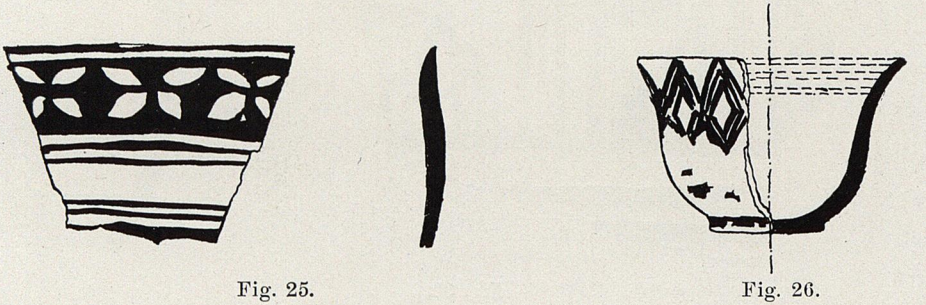


Fig. 25. Fig. 26.

Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2 : 5.

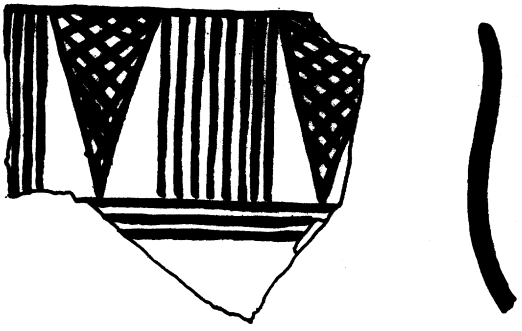


Fig. 27.

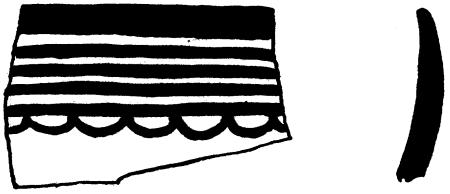


Fig. 28.

Fig. 29.

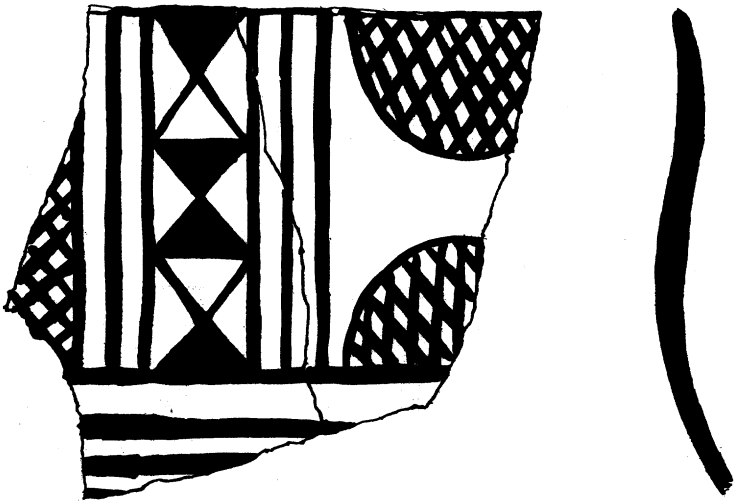


Fig. 30.

Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2: 5.

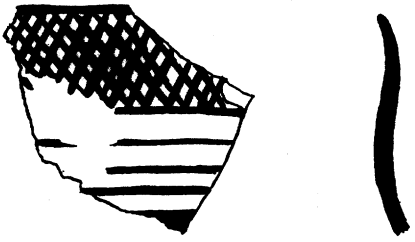


Fig. 31.

Fig. 32.

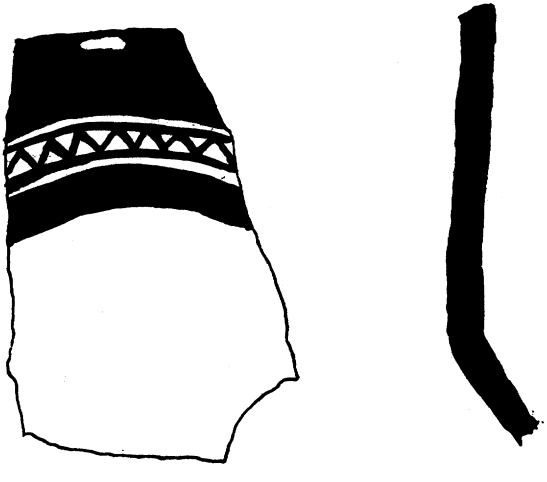


Fig. 33.

Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2: 5.

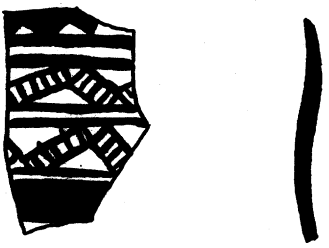


Fig. 34.

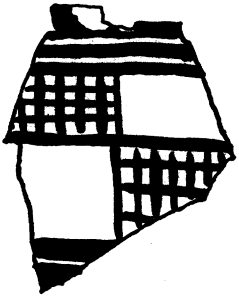


Fig. 35.

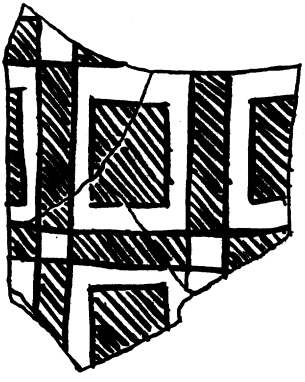


Fig. 36.

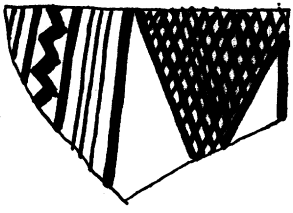


Fig. 37.

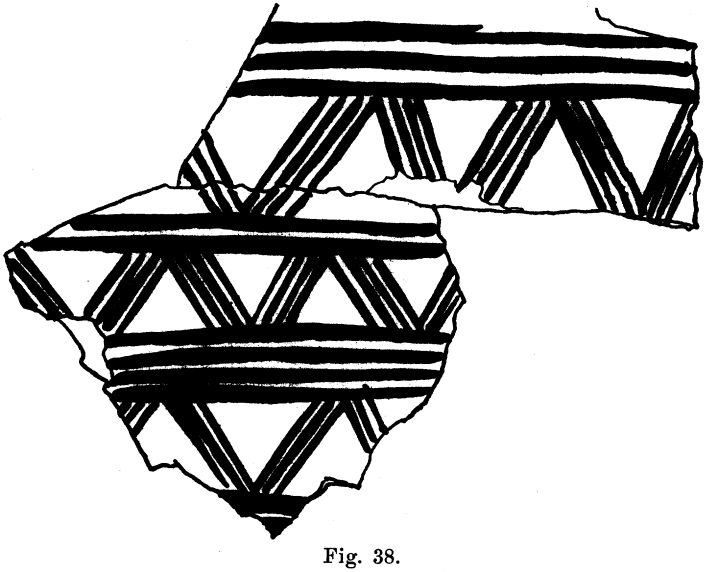


Fig. 38.

Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2: 5.

Outside Inside

Fig. 39.

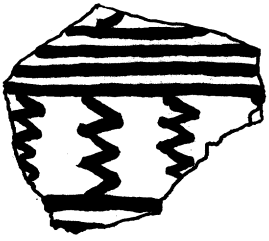
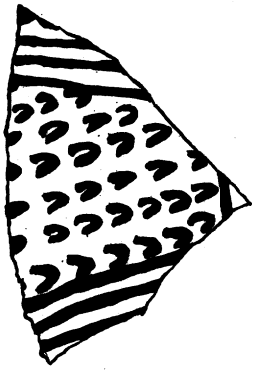


Fig. 40.



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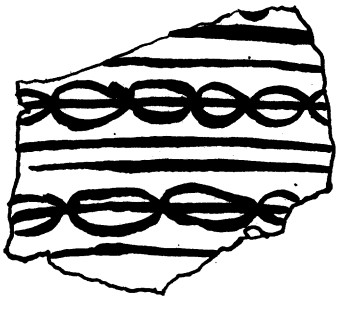


Fig. 42.

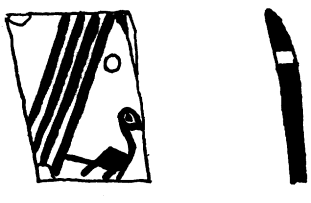


Fig. 43.

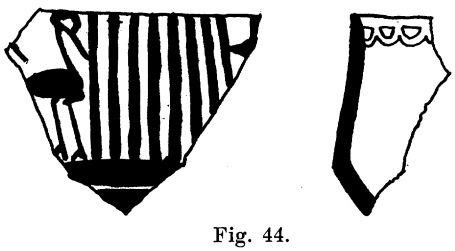


Fig. 44.

Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2: 5.

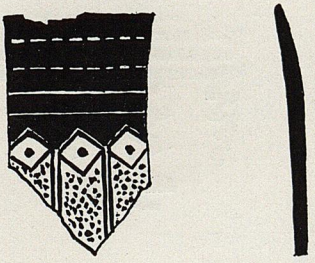


Fig. 45.

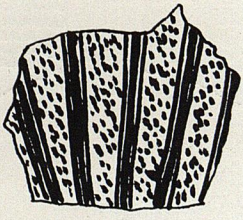
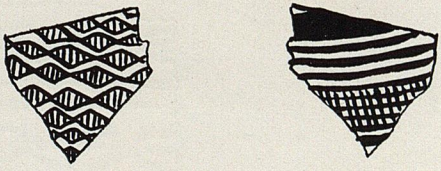


Fig. 46.



Outside Inside

Fig. 47.

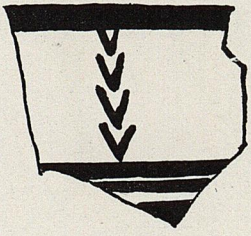


Fig. 48.

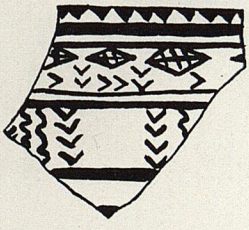


Fig. 49.

Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2: 5.

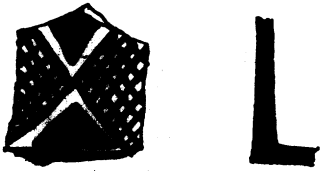


Fig. 50.

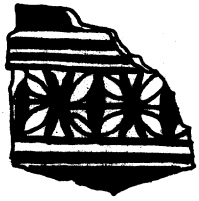


Fig. 51.

Fig. 52.

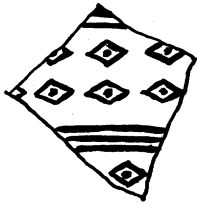


Fig. 53.

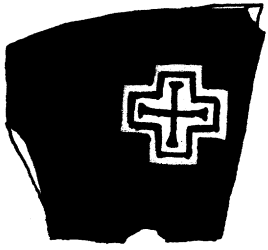


Fig. 54.

Painted Ware from Gawra I.
Scale 2: 5.

Fig. 55.

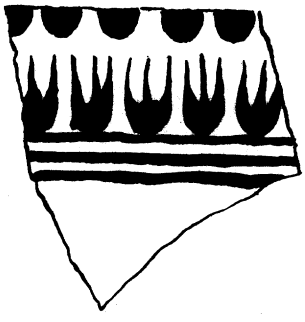


Fig. 56.

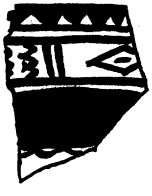


Fig. 57.

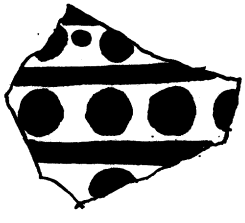
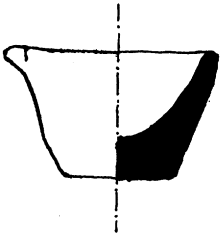


Fig. 58.

Fig. 59.



Top and Center: Painted Ware from Gawra I; Scale 2: 5.
Bottom: Unpainted Lamp, Gawra I; Scale 1: 2.

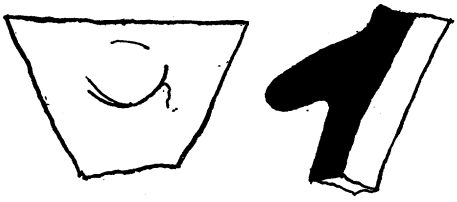


Fig. 60.

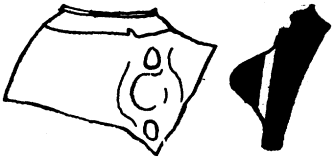


Fig. 61.

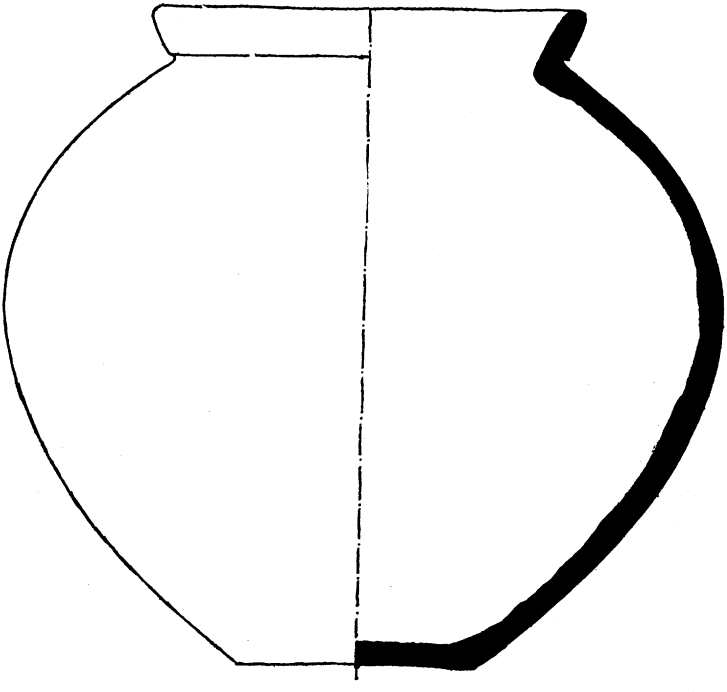


Fig. 64[a].

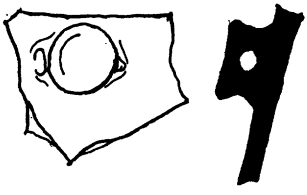


Fig. 62.

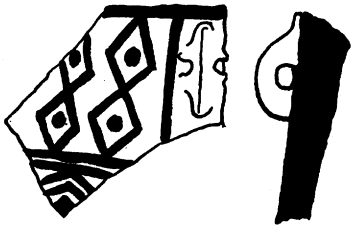


Fig. 63.

Pottery from Gawra I.

Top and bottom: Types of Handles; Scale 2: 5.
Center: "Burial-pot," reconstructed; Scale 1: 5.

Fig. 64b.

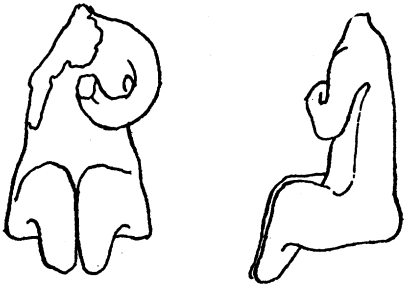


Fig. 65.

Fig. 66.

Fig. 67.

Fig. 68.

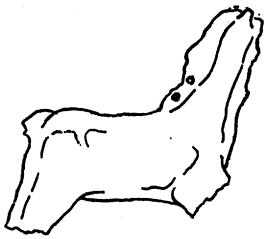


Fig. 69.

Fig. 70.

Terra-Cotta Figurines from Gawra I.
Scale 2: 5.

Fig. 71.

Fig. 72.

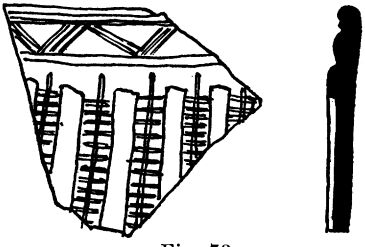


Fig. 73.

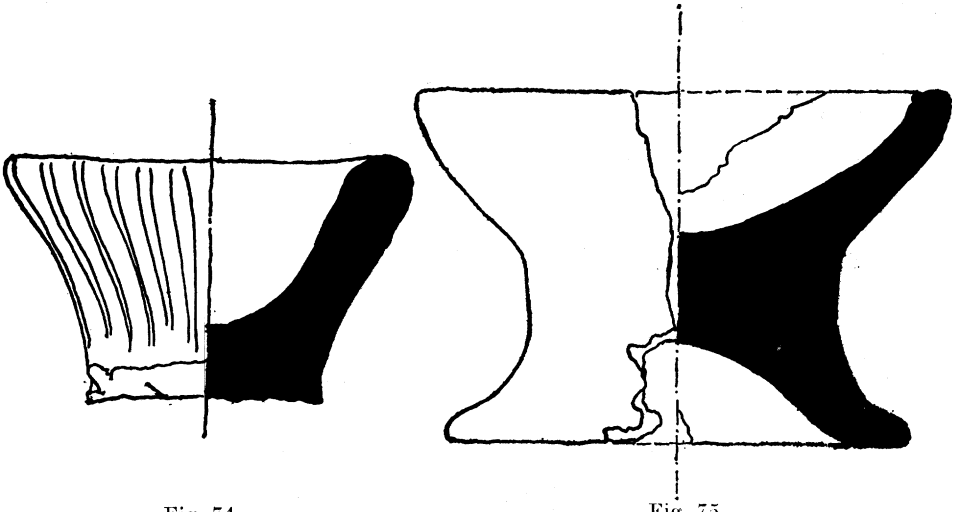


Fig. 74. Fig. 75.

Objects from Gawra I.

Top: Stamp seals. Center: Fragment with appliqué decoration. Bottom: Painted Pottery Stand and Goblet. The Scale in Figs. 72, 75 is 2: 5, otherwise 1: 1.

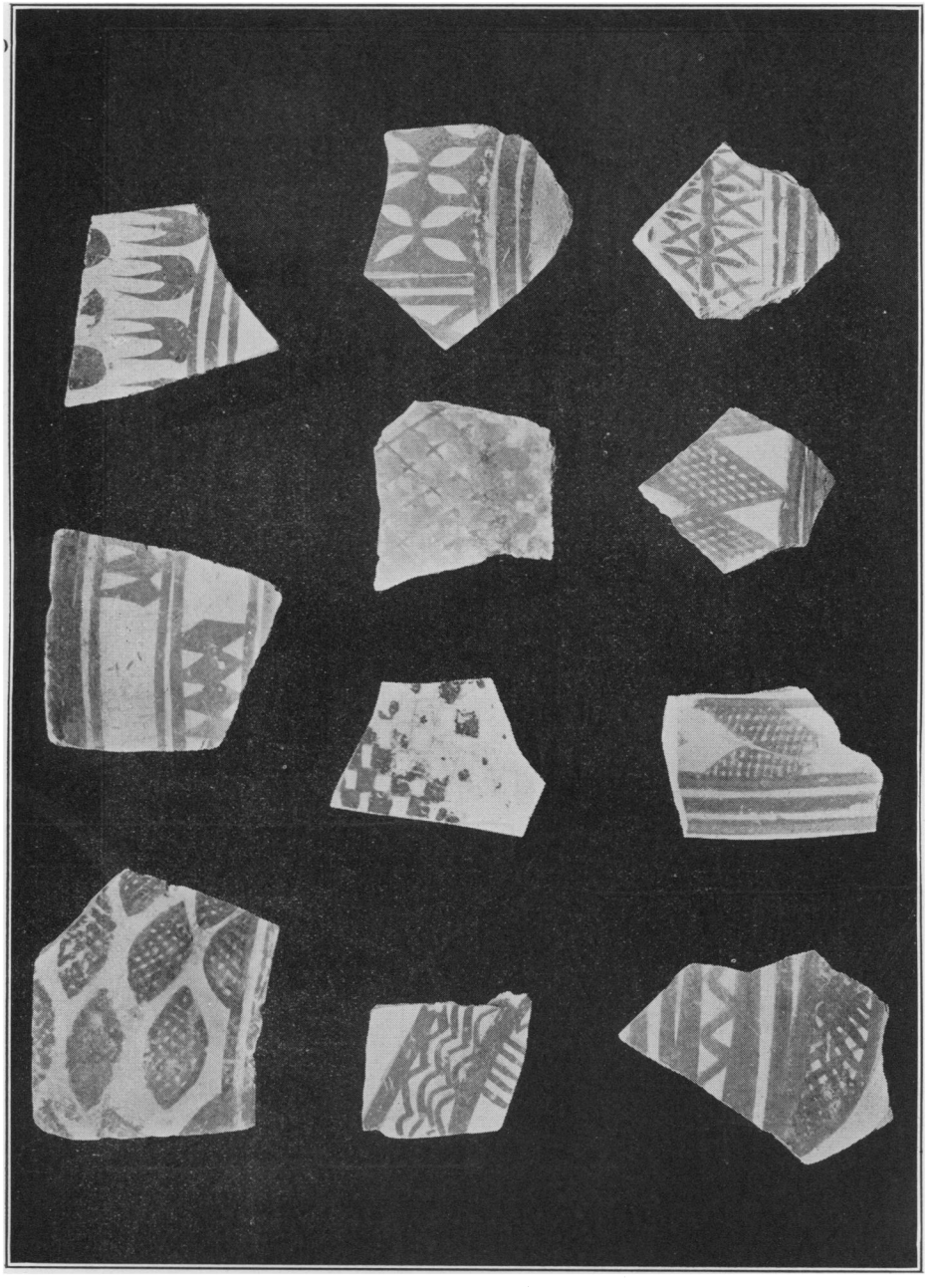


Fig. 76. Painted Pottery from Gawra I.
Scale 1 : 2.

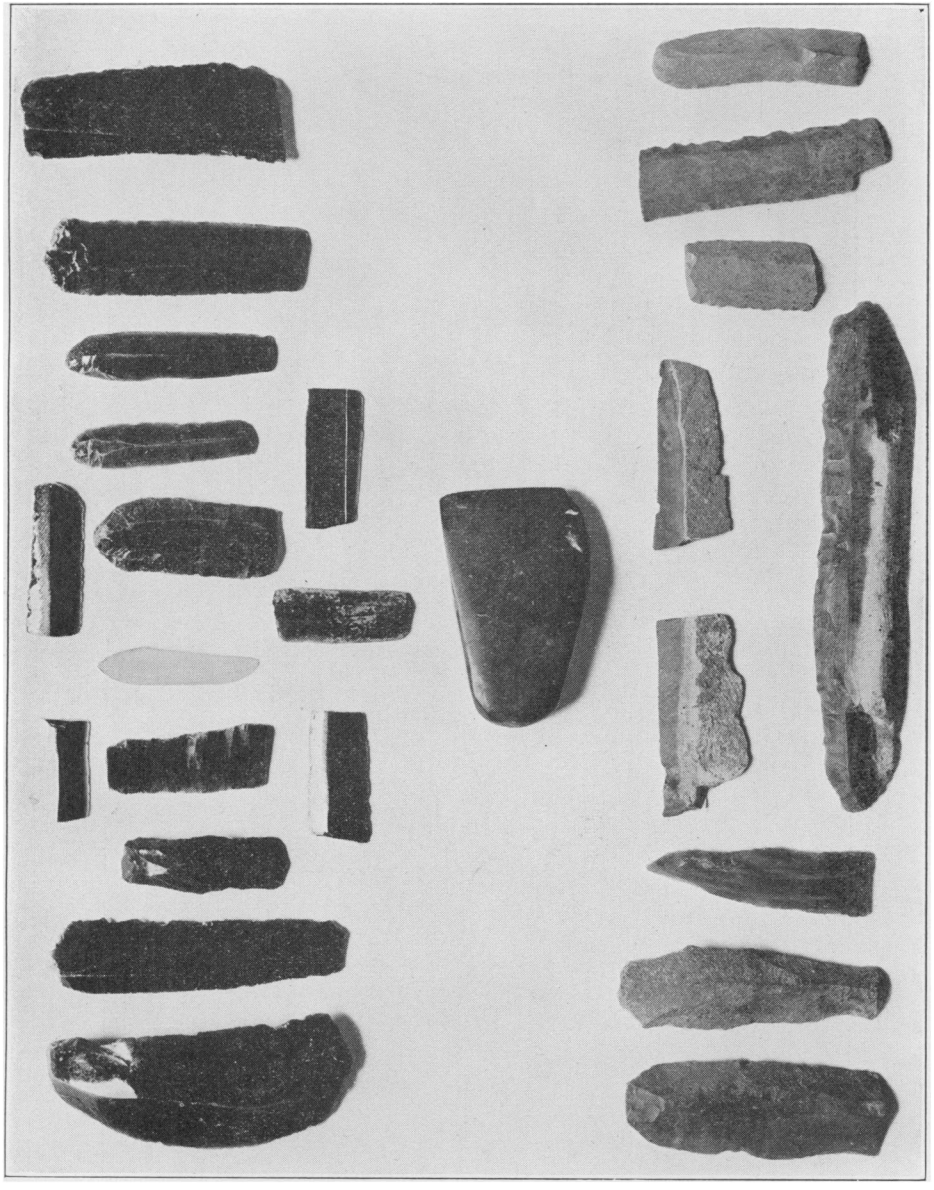


Fig. 77. Top: Obsidian Cores and Flakes, Gawra I and II.
Center: Basalt Celt, Gawra I.
Bottom: Flint and Chert Implements, the three in the middle showing remains of encasing materials, Gawra I and II.
Scale 1: 2.

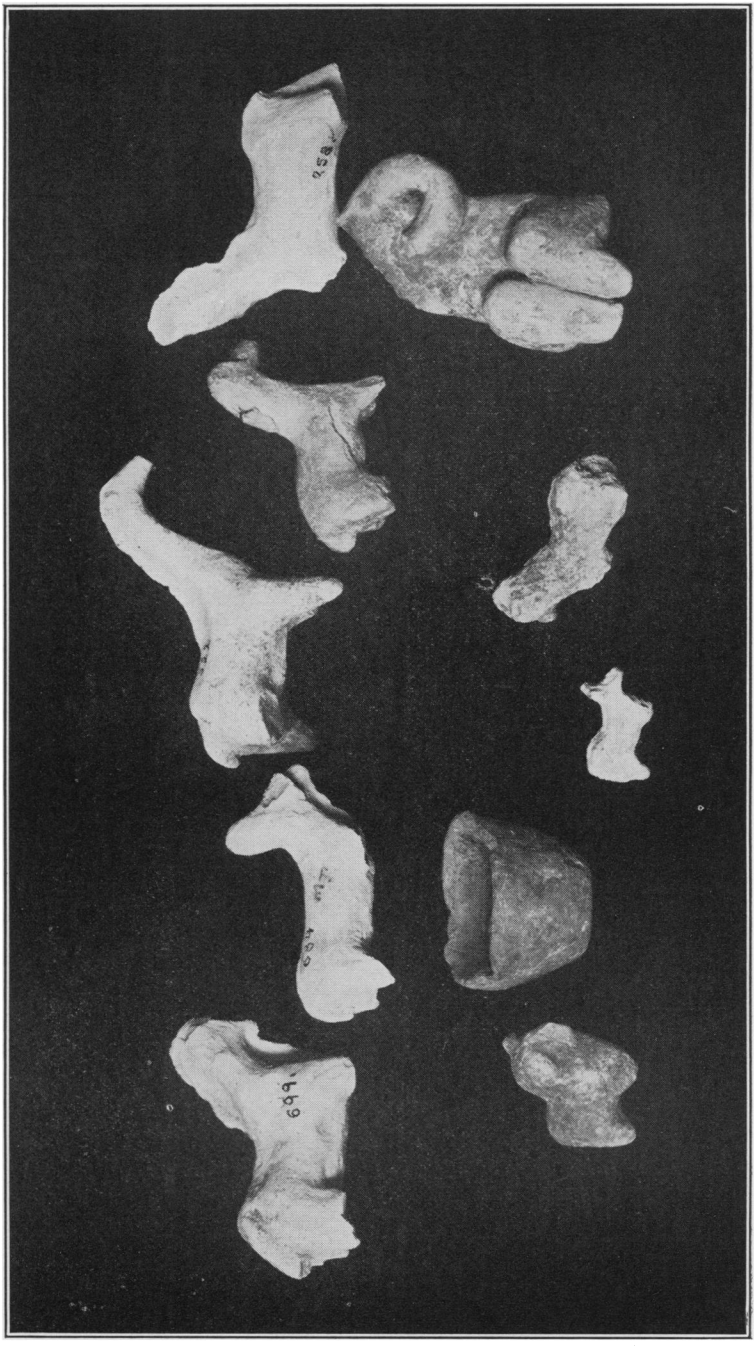


Fig. 78. Top—Terra-Cotta Figurines, Gawra II.
Bottom—Clay Animals, Lamp and Human Figurine, Gawra I.
Scale 2: 5.

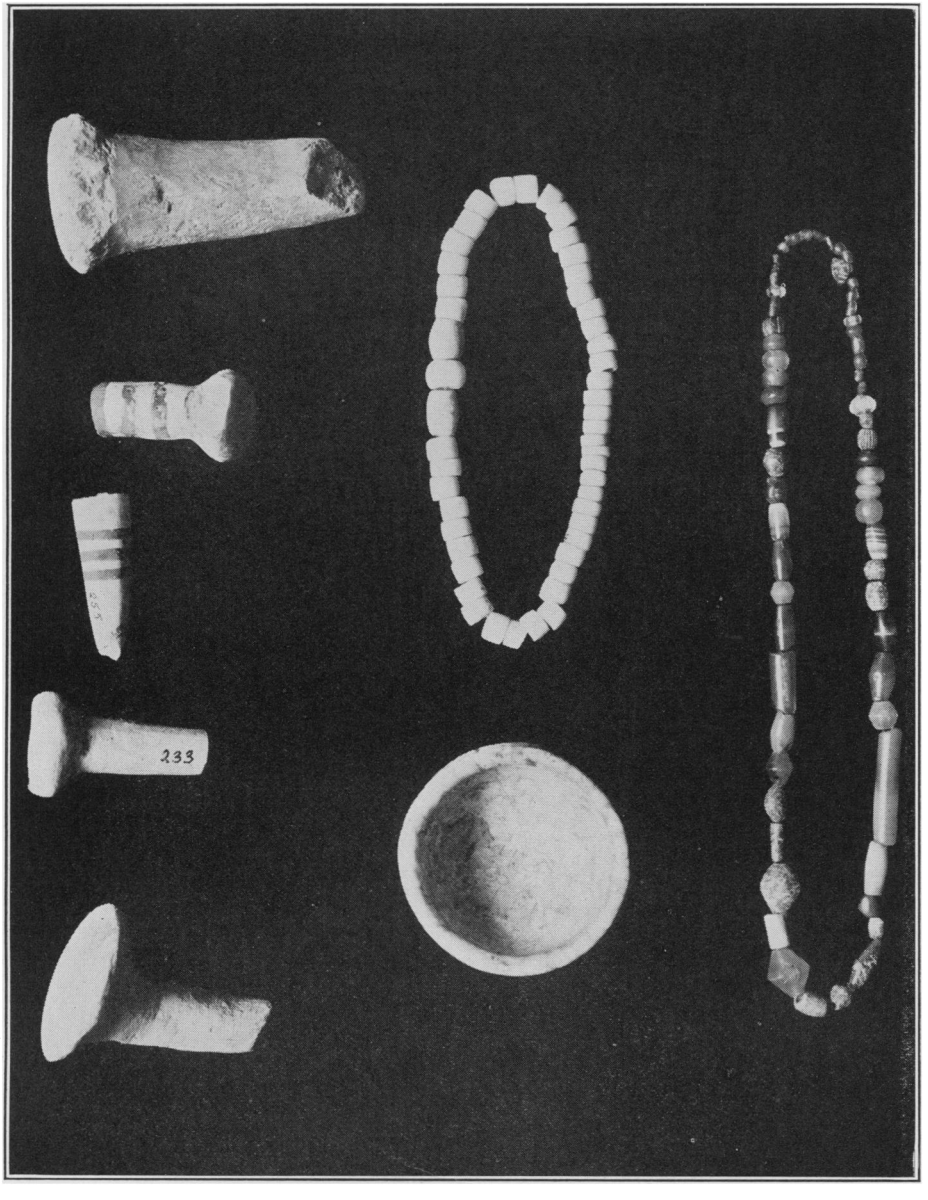


Fig. 79. Top—Pottery Wall-Nails and Cones, Gawra I.
Center—Marble Saucer and Ivory Beads, Gawra I.
Bottom—Beads of Carnelian, Lapis-Lazuli, Agate, and Rock Crystal.
Gawra III.
Scale 1 : 2.

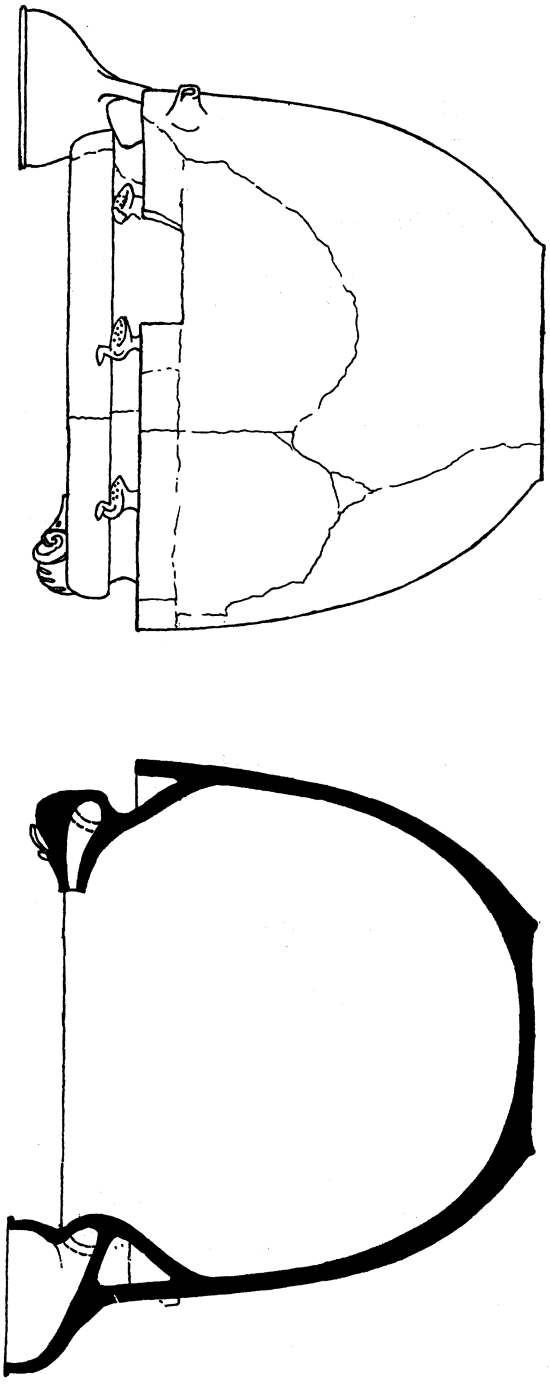


Fig. 80. "Fountain-Head" Vessel.
Scale 1 : 5.

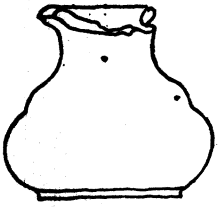


Fig. 81.

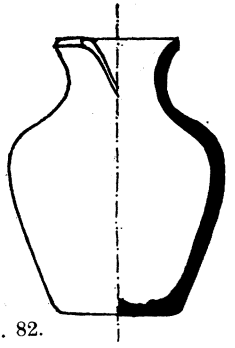


Fig. 82.

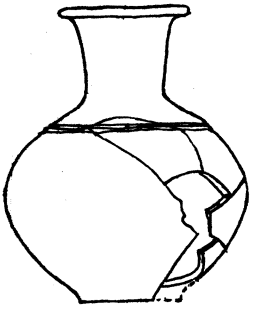


Fig. 83.

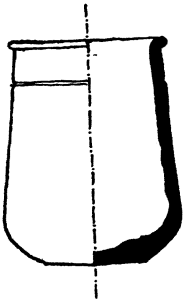


Fig. 84.

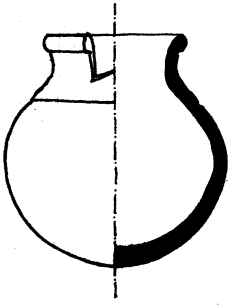


Fig. 85.

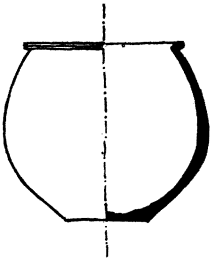


Fig. 86.

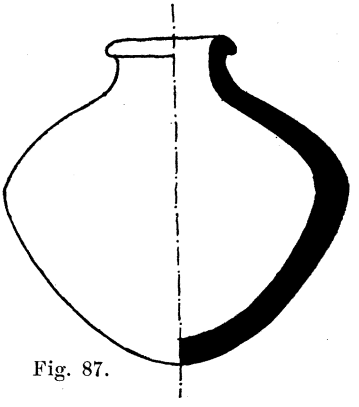


Fig. 87.

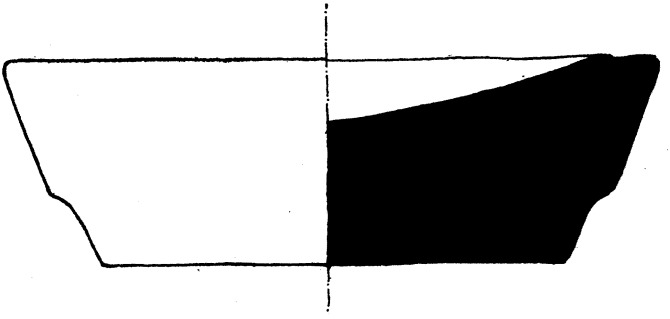


Fig. 88.

Pottery from Gawra II and III. Stone Plate (bottom) from Gawra II.
Scale 2: 5.

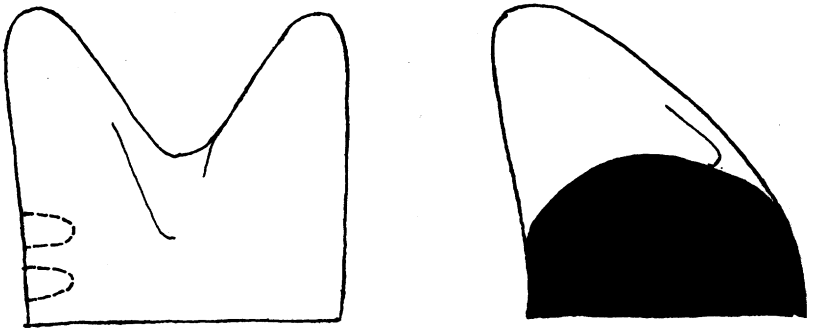


Fig. 89.

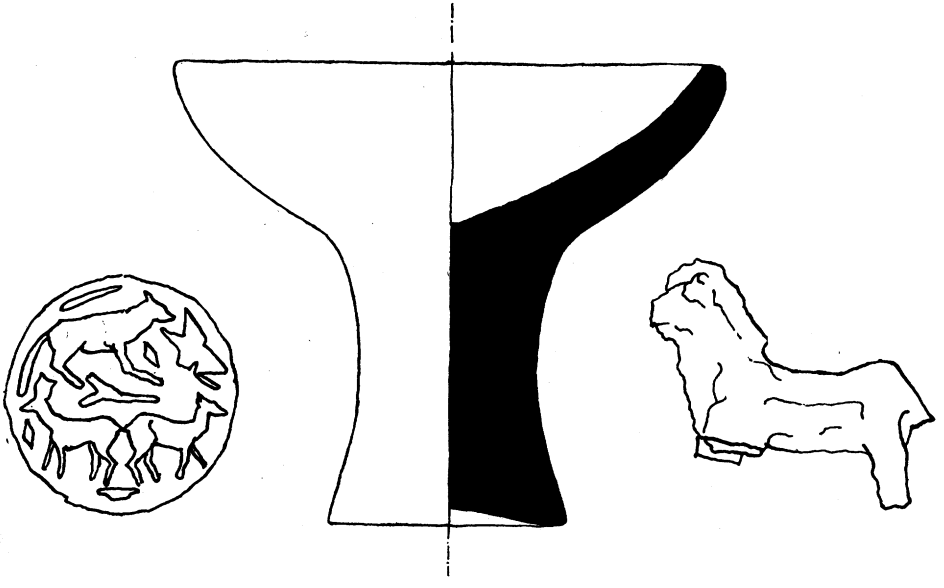


Fig. 91. Fig. 90. Fig. 92.

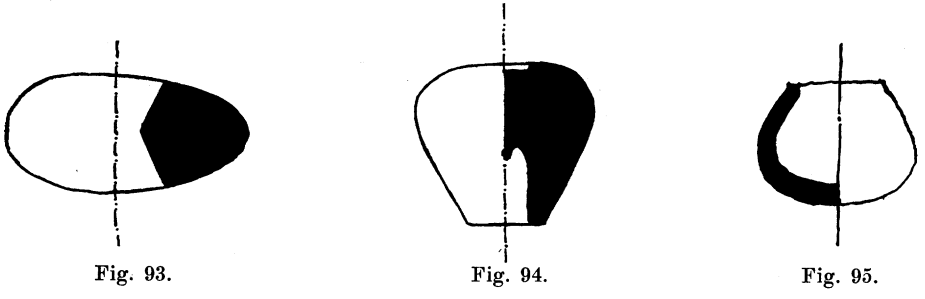


Fig. 93. Fig. 94. Fig. 95.

Objects from Shrine, Gawra II.

Top—Pair of Clay horns, with two holes for suspension 1: 5.

Center—(left to right) Seal Impression reconstructed 1: 1; Coal brazier of porous stone 1: 5; Herra-Cotta figurine 2: 5.

Bottom (left to right)—Marble sling-stone (?) 2: 5; Mace-head of quartz 2: 5; Votive "tear cup" 1: 1.

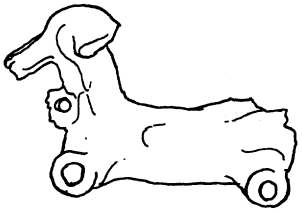


Fig. 96.

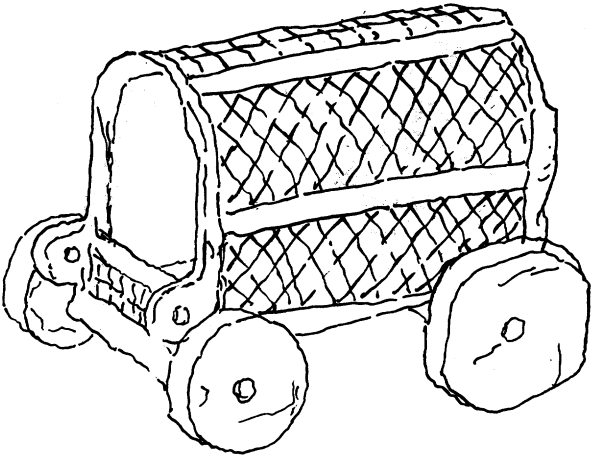


Fig. 97.

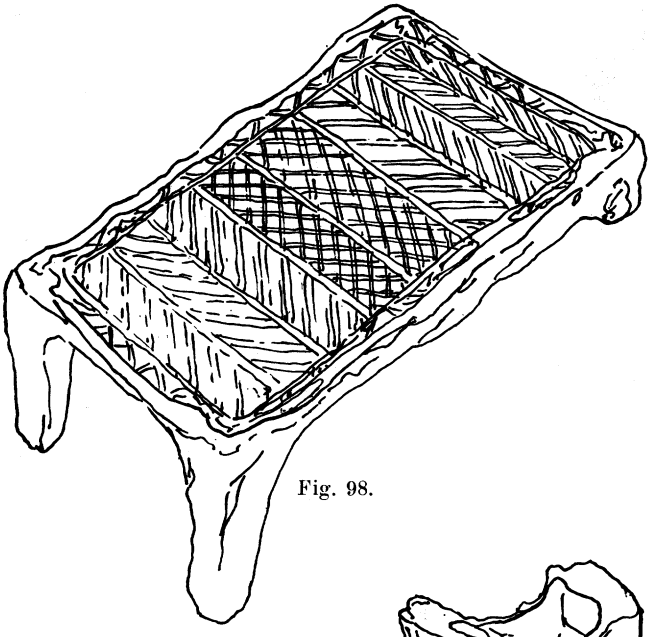


Fig. 98.

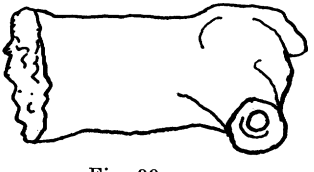


Fig. 99.

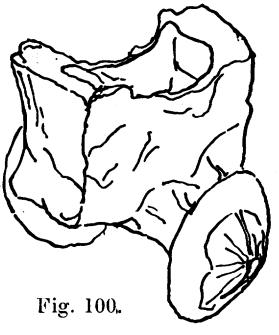


Fig. 100.

Votive Objects from Gawra.

Top—Terra-Cotta dog (2: 5); "Covered Wagon" (1: 1).
Center—Couch with skeuomorphic decoration (approximately 1: 2).
Bottom—Fragment of animal figurine (2: 5); "Sedan Chair," incomplete (1: 1).

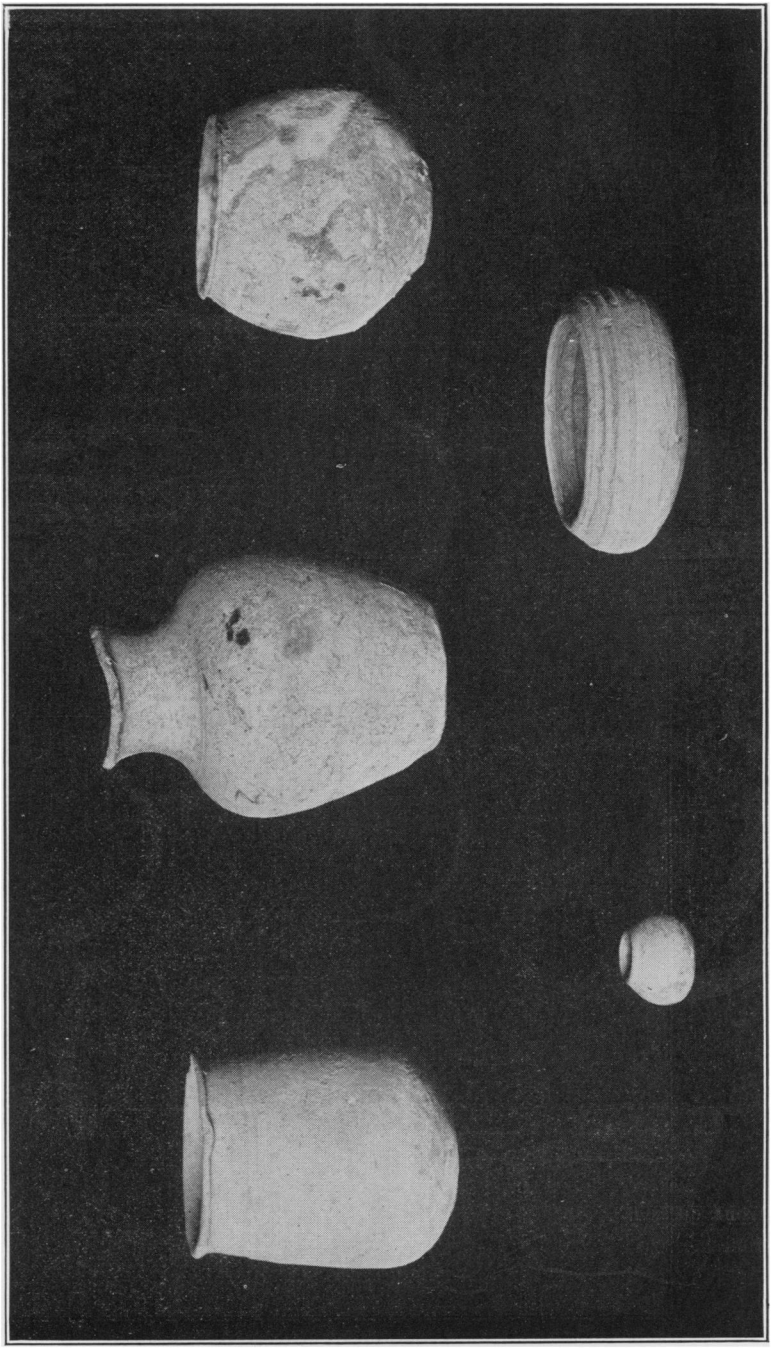


Fig. 101. Pottery from Gawra II and III.
Scale 2: 5.

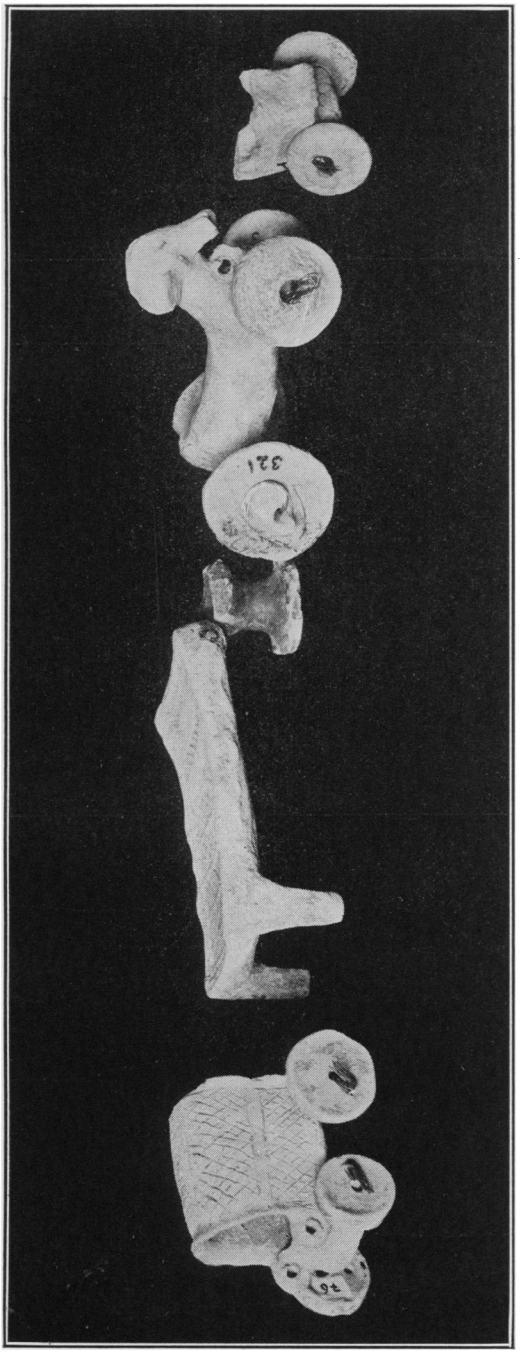


Fig. 102. Votive Objects from Gawra.
Scale 2: 5.

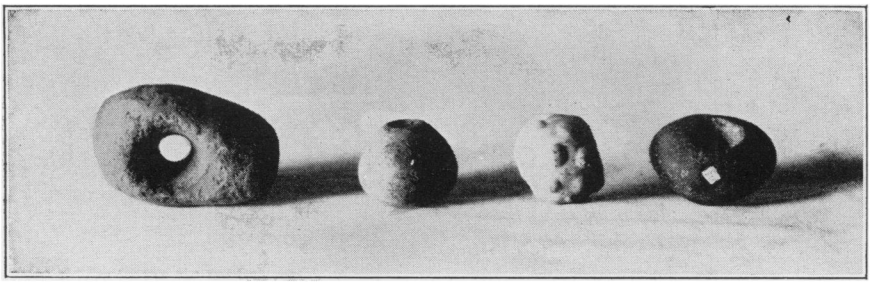


Fig. 103.

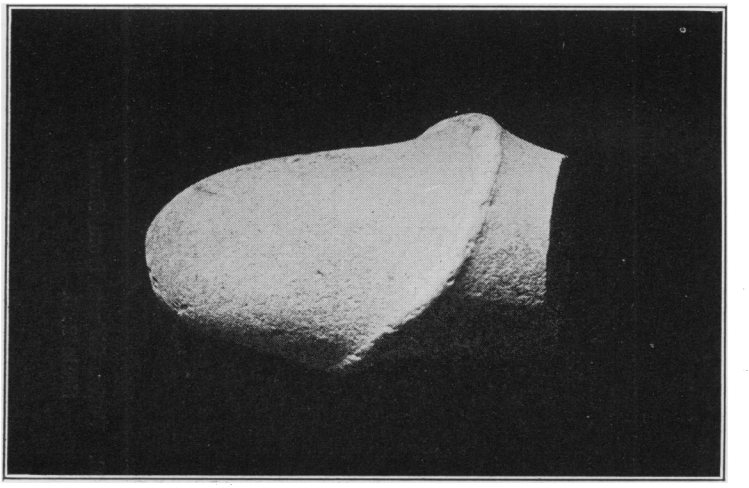


Fig. 104.

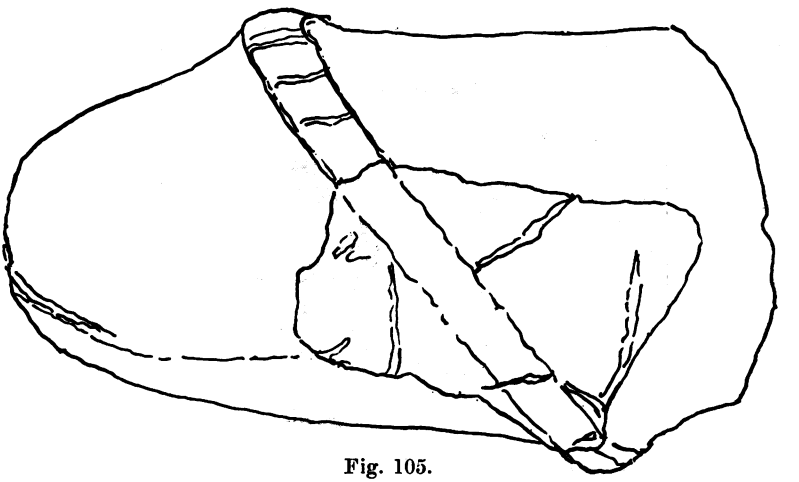


Fig. 105.

Top—Stone Objects from Gawra 11.
Center and Bottom—Phallic Object from Shrine in Gawra 11.
Scales 1: 2 and 1: 1.

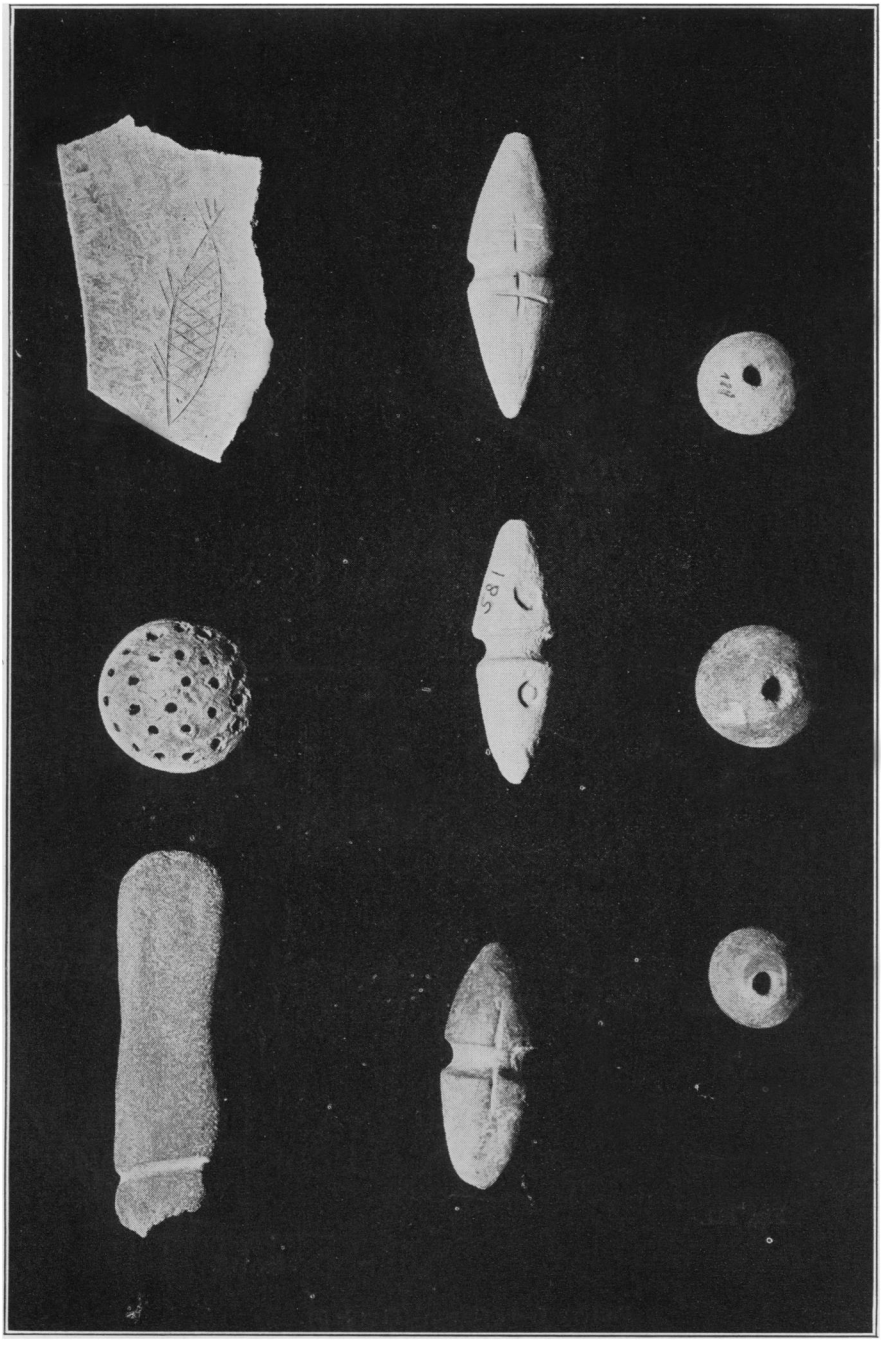


Fig. 106. Top—Colander from Gawra II; Knife handle and potsherd with fish decoration, Gawra III.
Center—Spools from Gawra II (left) and Gawra III.
Bottom—Whorls from Gawra I.
Scale 1: 2.

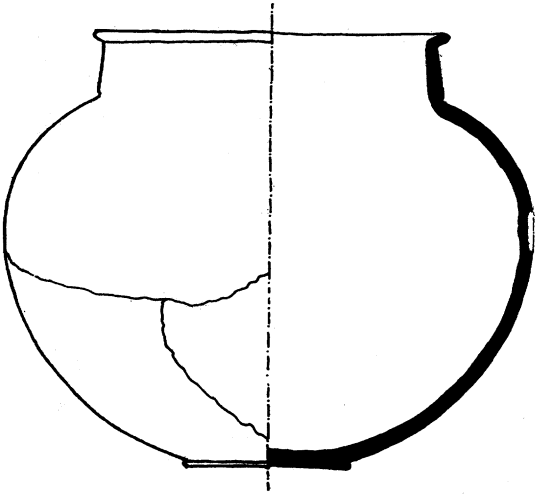


Fig. 107.

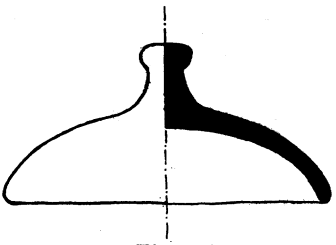


Fig. 108.

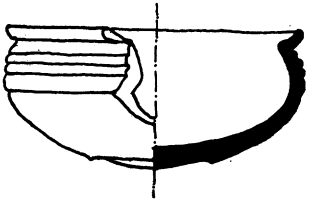


Fig. 109.

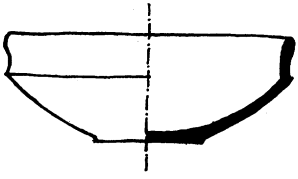


Fig. 110.

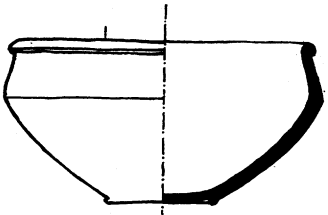


Fig. 111.

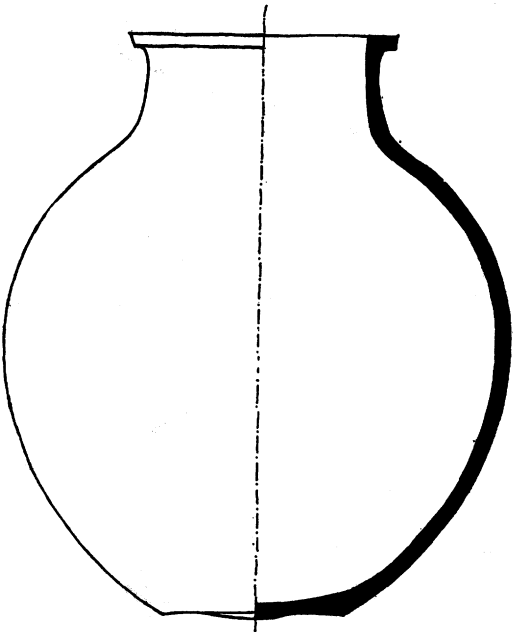


Fig. 112.

Pottery from Gawra III (2: 5).

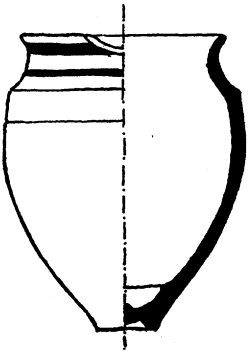


Fig. 113.

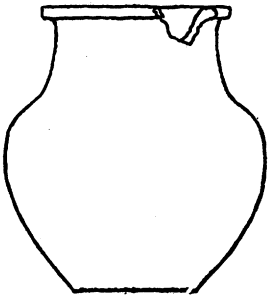
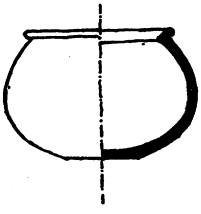


Fig. 114.



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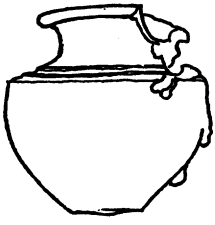


Fig. 116.

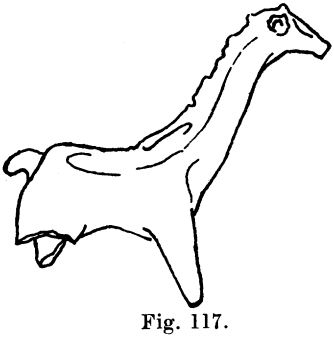


Fig. 117.

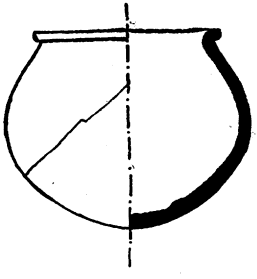
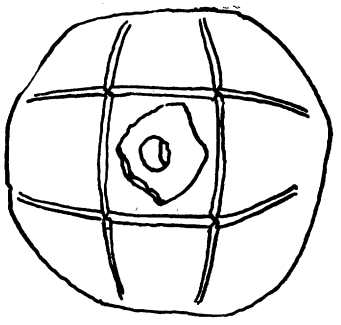


Fig. 118.

Fig. 119.

Pottery Pieces from Gawra III (2: 5).



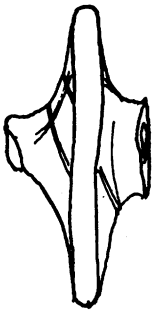


Fig. 120.

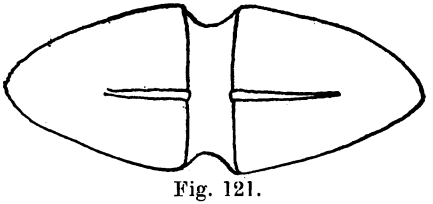


Fig. 121.

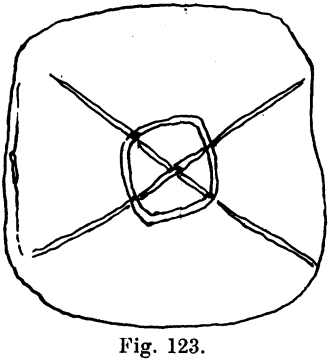


Fig. 123.

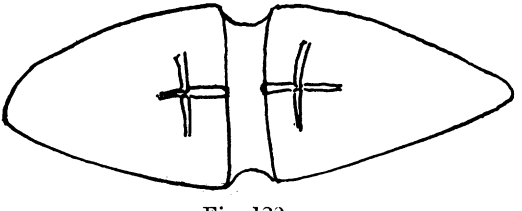


Fig. 122.

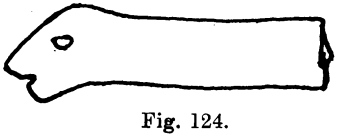
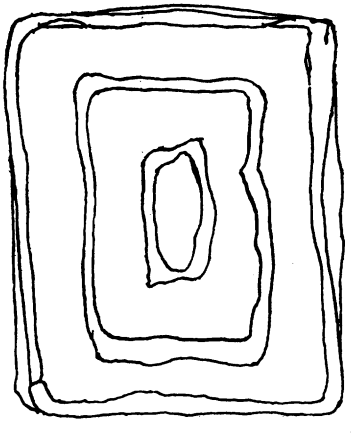


Fig. 124.



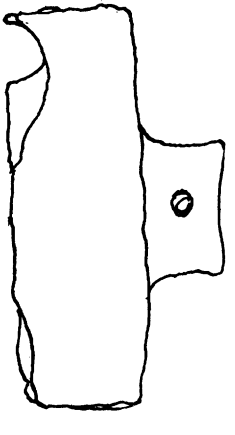


Fig. 125.

Sundry Clay Objects (Scale 1 : 1).

Top—Miniature chariot wheel, Gawra III.

Center Left—Two spindles with incised marks, the upper one from Gawra II and the lower from Gawra III.

Center Right—Scaraboid object and fragment of snake, Gawra III.

Bottom—Mould from Gawra III.

Fig. 126.

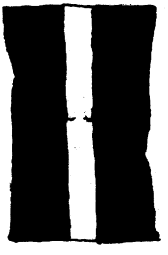
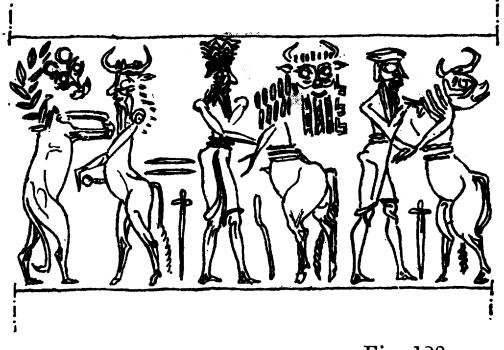


Fig. 127.



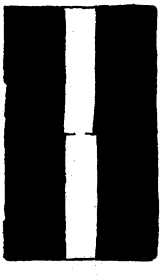


Fig. 128.

Cylinder-Seals from Gawra III.

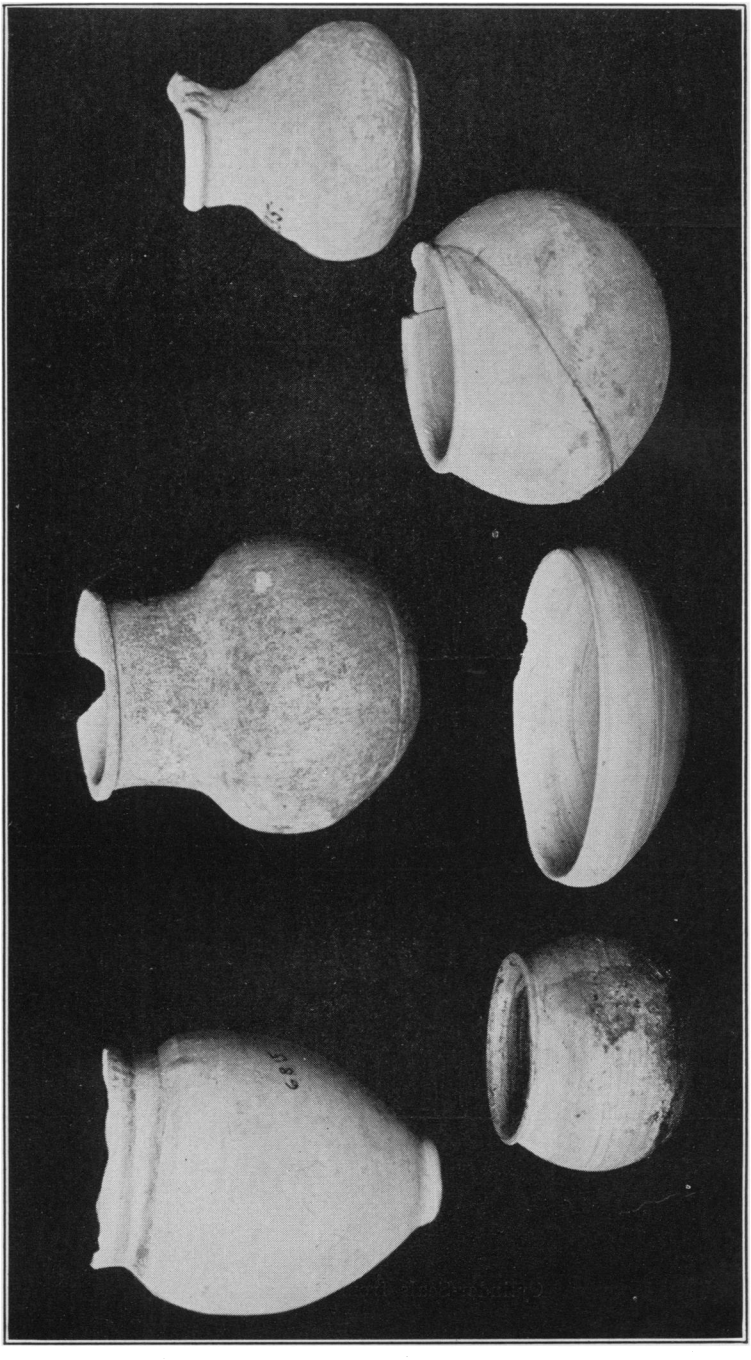


Fig. 129. Pottery from Gawra III.
Scale 2:5.

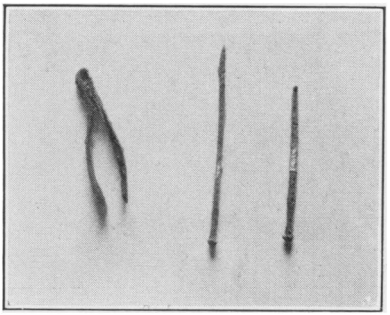


Fig. 130.

Fig. 131.

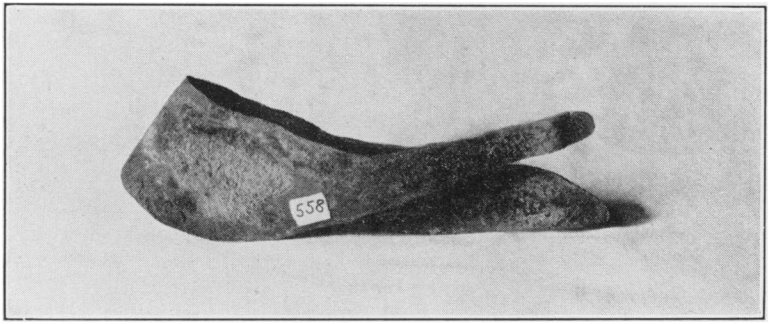


Fig. 132.

Copper Objects from Gawra III.

Top—Forceps and Needles.
Center—Sickle, Spear-Head, Snake Anklet, Miniature Pick-head and Chisels.
Bottom—Bent Sickle.

Scale approximately 1: 5.

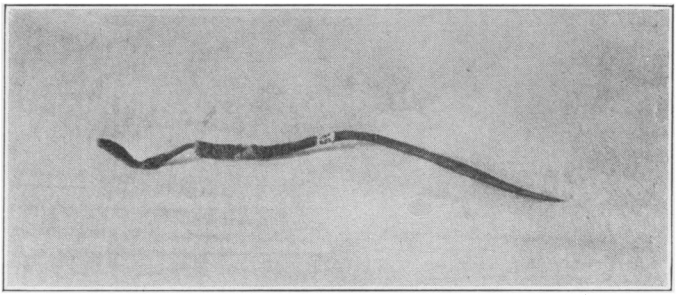


Fig. 133.

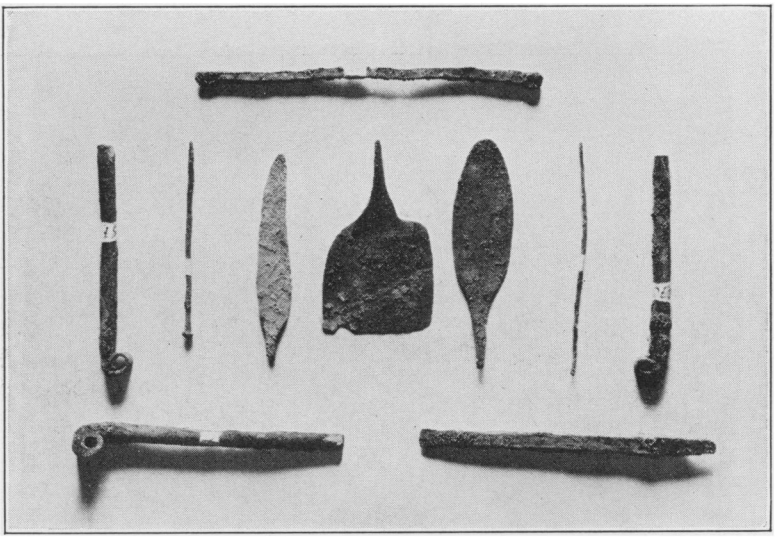


Fig. 134.

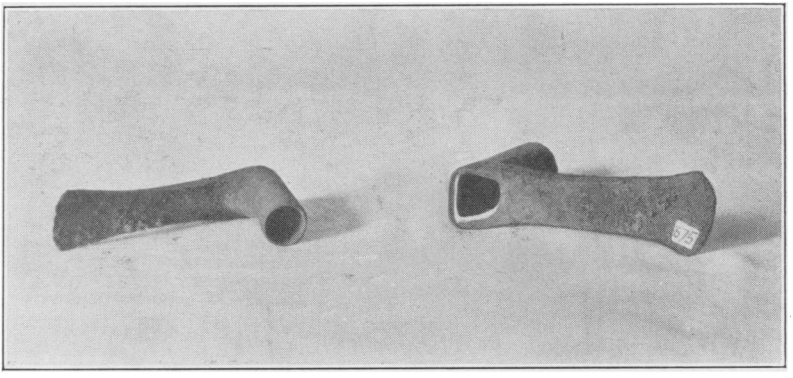


Fig. 135.

Copper Objects from Gawra III.
Top—Snake.
Center—Hooks, Spatulae, etc.
Bottom—Axe-Heads.
Scale approximately 1 : 3.

One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts
Author(s): Robert H. Pfeiffer and E. A. Speiser
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ONE HUNDRED NEW SELECTED NUZI TEXTS

TRANSLITERATED BY

ROBERT H. PFEIFFER

WITH TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARY BY

E. A. SPEISER

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PREFACE

The excavations at Nuzi, which were begun by the late Dr. Edward Chiera in 1925, were first sponsored jointly by the Iraq Museum and the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad. The texts recovered under the auspices of these two institutions are available virtually in full in Chiera's *Joint Expedition at Nuzi, Vols. I-V.* Beginning with the year 1927 Harvard University replaced the Iraq Museum as joint sponsor of the Nuzi excavations. All the tablets subsequently discovered are now in the Harvard Semitic Museum, where they have been catalogued and given consecutive SMN numbers. The Harvard Semitic Series has presented thus far three volumes of this material prepared by Chiera, Pfeiffer, and Meek respectively. They offer barely one sixth of the total.

The importance of the Nuzi documents need no longer be stressed to any Assyriologist. The responsibility for the publication of the remainder of the material is correspondingly great. But few scientific institutions could undertake in these days the financial burden of publishing some twenty volumes of cuneiform texts. The result is a compromise of the type exemplified in the present volume.

Instead of continuing with expensive autographed copies, the Harvard Semitic Museum and the Baghdad School are commencing herewith the publication of the Nuzi texts in transliteration, with appended translations and commentaries. The task has been divided between the Curator of the Museum and the Director of the Baghdad School. Fortunately, the Nuzi script is sufficiently familiar from previous publications to render transliteration entirely adequate for the purpose. Rare sign-forms and uncertain passages have been copied and reproduced mechanically wherever transliteration alone would have been misleading to the reader; these copies have been indicated in the text by means of an asterisk (*) and have been placed at the end of Part I. The present instalment is based on a selection from among two hundred texts, which were transliterated by Pfeiffer and forwarded to Speiser for further study. The selection followed the principle of dispensing with such documents as fail to contribute any factual or linguistic information; furthermore, the large group of SAL.LUGAL texts has been reserved for future publication in order to allow sufficient variety in the volume at hand. It is hoped that other selections from SMN texts will follow in the near future.

There is no need to point out that our co-operation has been mutually beneficial. The path of the translator was made smoother thanks to his having

had the use of texts as yet unpublished; and as for the transliterator, in the course of interpretation frequent and careful collation became necessary; but each of us assumes final responsibility for any imperfections in carrying out our respective assignments.

We wish to express our thanks to Dr. E. R. Lacheman for assisting in the collation, and for placing at the disposal of the translator a number of texts which he used in his dissertation. The value of this assistance will be apparent from the references in the Notes.

Dr. P. M. Purves, who is preparing an edition of Nuzi Proper Names jointly with Dr. A. A. MacRae, has earned our gratitude by his compilation of the List of Personal Names included in this volume.

R. H. PFEIFFER
E. A. SPEISER

October 15, 1936
Cambridge, Mass.
and
Tepe Gawra, Iraq

TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCES

Present Number	SMN	Present Number	SMN
1	285	51	553
2	76	52	7
3	348	53	411
4	13	54	1009
5	346	55	768
6	309	56	2134
7	356	57	2048
8	2693	58	2085
9	809	59	2099
10	319	60	365
11	220	61	2082
12	391	62	2078
13	559	63	2089
14	1048	64	910
15	2101	65	1046
16	2021	66	2098
17	2036	67	2097
18	2044	68	415
19	2254	69	479
20	2035	70	940
21	2206	71	1153
22	2216	72	2131
23	2016	73	2027
24	2038	74	1110
25	2017	75	251
26	2020	76	2093
27	2031	77	538
28	2045	78	53
29	2118	79	2141
30	2119	80	59
31	2103	81	67
32	2026	82	41
33	2019	83	2058
34	2028	84	2056
35	2018	85	549
36	2063	86	501
37	2111	87	25
38	2033	88	1031
39	2074	89	75
40	2145	90	48
41	2023	91	446
42	2037	92	279
43	2024	93	162
44	2043	94	145
45	2682	95	2140
46	588	96	2135
47	491	97	2094
48	690	98	2050
49	799	99	2029
50	2153-54	100	2032

REGISTER [1]

SMN	Room	Size	Present Number	SMN	Room	Size	Present Number
7	T 21	66 x 105 x 34	52	2020	C 120	73 x 116 x 34	26
13	C 2	69 x 98 x 25	4	2021	C 120	68 x 96 x 28	16
25		48 x 46 x 21	87	2023	C 120	69 x 103 x 29	41
41	A 23	44 x 35 x 18	82	2024	C 120	74 x 101 x 29	43
48		36 x 35 x 14	90	2026	C 120	75 x 107 x 32	32
53	C 89	51 x 60 x 23	78	2027	C 120	79 x 126 x 31	73
59	C 76	44 x 42+ x 18	80	2028	C 120	77 x 132 x 37	34
67	C 76	41 x 41 x 18	81	2029	C 120	65 x 88 x 27	99
75		45 x 41+ x 19	89	2031	C 120	71 x 105 x 35	27
76	C 2	62 x 63+ x 25	2	2032	C 120	74 x 108 x 28	100
145	A 34	58 x 77+ x 29	94	2033	C 120	61 x 95 x 28	38
162		59 x 89 x 22	93	2035	C 120	71 x 102 x 36	20
220	C 2	69+ x 92+ x 31	11	2036	C 120	68 x 82 x 23	17
251		63 x 92 x 31	75	2037	C 120	68 x 106 x 34	42
279	A 23	41 x 37 x 19	92	2038	C 120	79 x 105 x 34	24
285	C 2	110 x 194 x 37	1	2043	C 120	74+ x 102 x 31	44
309	C 2	94 x 155 x 36	6	2044	C 120	71+ x 96 x 32	18
319	C 2	99 x 137 x 42	10	2045	C 120	86 x 122 x 36	28
346	C 2	101 x 140 x 43	5	2048	C 120	66 x 95 x 38	57
348	C 2	103 x 151 x 43	3	2050	C 112	47 x 35 x 17	98
356	C 2	76 x 131 x 35	7	2056	C 120	48+ x 44+ x 19	84
365		69 x 102 x 35	60	2058	C 120	42 x 33+ x 17+	83
391	C 2	70 x 83+ x 28	12	2063	C 120	74 x 71 x 36	36
411		51 x 67 x 28	53	2074	C 120	84 x 134 x 36+	39
415	A 23	50 x 55 x 21	68	2078	C 112	65 x 104 x 29	62
446	A 14	53+ x 61+ x 26	91	2082	C 112	76 x 111 x 32	61
479	T 19	57+ x 72+ x 27	69	2085	C 110	74 x 125 x 34	58
491	C 76	74+ x 100+ x 33	47	2089	C 151	70+ x 95+ x 39+	63
501	A 23	61+ x 53 x 22	86	2093	C 113	57 x 47 x 20	76
538		50 x 48 x 21	77	2094	C 120	58+ x 66+ x 24+	97
549		45+ x 46 x 21	85	2097	C 112	70+ x 111+ x 32	67
553	A 23	45 x 42 x 18	51	2098	C 112	75+ x 103 x 37	66
559	C 2	55+ x 66+ x 25	13	2099	C 133	76 x 112 x 38	59
588	C 76	54 x 45+ x 21	46	2101	C 120	67 x 90 x 31+	15
690	C 76	90 x 70 x 26	48	2103	C 120	76 x 100 x 34+	31
768	T 19	78 x 133 x 36	55	2111	C 120	60 x 96+ x 35	37
799	C 76	59+ x 58+ x 21	49	2118	C 120	68+ x 106+ x 30	29
809		44 x 48 x 19	9	2119	C 120	74 x 129 x 36	30
910	A 30	84 x 65 x 31	64	2131	C 382	73 x 104 x 32	72
940	A 14	134 x 85 x 38	70	2134	C 151	78 x 117 x 32	56
1009	A 35	114 x 69 x 33	54	2135	C 470	60 x 91 x 27	96
1031	C 56	52 x 54 x 21	88	2140	C 465	59+ x 80 x 32+	95
1046	A 35	66 x 107 x 28	65	2141	C 132	65 x 86+ x 22+	79
1048	C 2	fragm.	14	2145	C 120	82 x 115+ x 33	40
1110	A 41	61 x 77 x 21	74	2153-54		fragm.	50
1153		73 x 103 x 33	71	2206	C 120	91+ x 127+ x 40	21
2016	C 120	71 x 111 x 36	23	2216	C 120	89 x 114+ x 37	22
2017	C 120	85 x 130 x 36	25	2254	C 120	67 x 100 x 30	19
2018	C 120	70 x 112 x 35	35	2682	C 120	fragm.	45
2019	C 120	77 x 110 x 36	33	2693		29 x 51 x 28	8

[1] The tablets with SMN numbers below 2000 were unearthed in 1927-28; those with numbers above 2000 in 1928-29. "T" indicates the house of Tehiptilla, "A" the double house of Zigi and Shilwateshup, and "C" the great government building and official residence of the governor of Nuzi.

PART I

TRANSLITERATIONS

BY

ROBERT H. PFEIFFER
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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INTRODUCTION

The transliteration of the cuneiform texts from Nuzi ("Kirkuk") presents problems of its own. The outlandish spelling of Akkadian words indicates that the pronunciation of Akkadian current among the Hurrians of Nuzi was decidedly different from that of the native Assyrians and Babylonians of the time. But the variety of spellings adopted for identical words is such that we cannot yet determine the Hurrian pronunciation with any certainty. Under these circumstances, in transliterating a text from Nuzi we are faced by a dilemma: should we reproduce the most frequent value of a sign, or should we, by means of the accents and numerals proposed by Thureau-Dangin (*Le Syllabaire Accadien,* 1926; *Les Homophones Sumériens,* 1929), reproduce the words according to their standard Assyrian pronunciation? The first method has the merit of giving us perhaps a better idea of the "Hurrian accent," the second yields a text that is etymologically more correct. The second method has been adopted in this book, although a few inconsistencies, not all of them due to oversight, may be detected. Another debatable point is the transcription of ideograms: when it seemed certain that the Hurrians read these words in their Akkadian form, the latter has been given regularly. But in the case of such words as SU (shekel), NI (oil), UDU (sheep), MA.NA (mina), etc., in which the exact Akkadian equivalent is not absolutely certain, the Sumerian forms, written in Roman type with the initial capital, have been adopted. Likewise the determinatives (with the exception of such conventional and accepted symbols as ^{m} and ^{f}) have been given in their Sumerian form, indicated (except in the case of $^{bi.a}$ and ^{meš}) by the initial capital (the abbreviation ^{d}, following the current usage, stands for *Dingir*, god, or *deus*). To avoid confusion, only Sumerian words have been capitalized: capitals have not been used for proper names. In spite of all efforts to attain consistency in the various parts of the book, some minor differences in transcription, such as the writing *ṣilli* at the beginning of some personal names (in the first part) and *MI.NI* (in the index of personal names), differences in the form of the determinatives, and the like, have been allowed to stand: they bear witness to the personal preferences of the authors and to the uncertainty that still prevails, in matters of detail, in the method of transliterating the Hurrianized Akkadian dialect of Nuzi.

1 (SMN 285)

[1]*um-ma* ^{m}*du-ra-ri-ma 30 iṣē*^{meš} [*am-ba-an-na*] [2]*i-na abulli šá-ak-nu-mi ù* ^{m}*ku-u*[*š-ši-ḫar-be il-te-qì-šu-nu-ti*]

[3]*um-ma* ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be la il-te-qì-*[*šu-nu-ti*] [4]*um-ma* ^{m}*du-ra-ri-ma 30 awēlūti*^{meš} *a-lik* [*il-ki*] [5]*ša dimāti*^{meš} *šeāti*^{meš} *ištu ēkallim*^{lim} .... [6]*ù a-na* ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be šamaššamma* [*ù du-u*]*ḫ-na e-*[*ri-iš*] [7]*ù iṣē*^{meš} *am-ba-an-na ú-pá-aḫ-ḫa-ru*

[8]*um-ma* ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be-ma* ^{m}*zi-li-ip-til-la aš-ta-*[*par-šu*] [9]*um-ma a-na-ku-ma šamaššamma*^{meš} *ù du-uḫ-na e-ri-i*[*š*] [10]*1 imēr šamaššamma*^{meš} *ù dú-uḫ-nu i-ba-aš-ši ša ir-šu-...* [11]*ù iṣē*^{meš} *am-ba-an-na pu-uḫ-ḫi-ir-mi* [12]*ù 30 awēlūti*^{meš} *a-lik il-ki ša dimāti*^{meš} *la i-de*$_4$*-šu-nu-*[*ti*]

[13]*um-ma* ^{m}*pal-te-ia-ma 40 iṣē*^{meš} *ša-aš-šu-gu* [*ša ēkalli*] [14] ^{m}*ḫu-ti-ia* ^{Lú}*naggāru il-te-qì-šu-nu-ti* [15]*ù* ^{Giš}*dalta a-na ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be* (sic) [*itepuš*]^{uš} [16]*ù* ^{Giš}*dalta a-na bīt* ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be i-na* ^{Uru}*an-zu-gal-li* [*i-te-pu-uš*] (*?*) [17][*ù a-na-ku*] *iṣē*^{meš} *ša-šu-nu az-bi-il-šu-nu*

[18]*um-m*[*a* ^{m}*ku*]*-uš-ši-ḫar-be-ma iṣē*^{meš} [*a*]*t*(*?*)*-tu-ú-ia-ma* [19]*ù a-na* ^{Giš}*dalti a-na e-pí-ši at-ta-din* [20]*ù iṣē*^{meš} *ša ēkalli a-na* ^{Giš}*dalti a-na e-pí-ši la ad-dì-in*

[21]*um-ma* ^{m}*ḫu-ti-ia* ^{Lú}*naggāru-ma* ^{Giš}*dalta e-pu-šu* [22]*iṣē*^{meš} *iš-tu* ^{Uru}*an-zu-qa-al-li* ^{m}*ša-aḫ-lu-te-šup* [23]*a-na ia-ši id-dì-na ú iṣē*^{meš} *ri-iḫ-tù* [24]*iš-tu* ^{Uru}*nu-zi id-dì-na ù iṣē*^{meš} *ša-a-šu-nu* [25]*a-na ēkalli*^{li} *i-de*$_4$*-šu-nu-*[*ti*] *ù a-na* ^{Giš}*dalti* [26]*ša* ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be e-te-pu-uš*

[27]*um-ma* ^{m}*ḫa-ši-pá-pu-ma 2 ṣí-mi-it-tù sa-ti-in-*[*ni*] [28]*ù 2 ku-uš-ba-aḫ-ḫu* ^{m}*ša-aḫ-lu-te-šup i-na qāti-ia* [*it-ta*]*-din* [29]*um-ma šu-ma um-ma* ^{m}[*ku*]*-uš-ši-ḫar-be-ma-mi* Ni^{meš} *a-*[*šar awēlūti*]^{meš} [30]*ša qāti-ka šu-ud-din-m*[*i*] *ù sa-ti-in-ni e-p*[*u-uš*] .. [31]*ù a-na-ku* Ni^{meš} *a-šar a*[*wēlūti*]^{meš} *ša qāti-ia*[a] *uš-te-id-*[*din*] [32]*ù e-te-pu-uz-zu-n*[*u*]*-ti* (erasure)

[33]*um-ma* ^{m}*ša-aḫ-lu-te-šup-ma 2 ṣí-mi-it-tù sa-*[*ti-in-ni*] [34]*ša* ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be a-na ma-ḫa-ṣí a-na* ^{m}*ḫa-ši-p*[*á-pu id-din*] [35]*ù um-ma a-na-ku-ma i-na ra-ma-ni-ka*$_4$*-ma ma-ḫa-aṣ-mi t*[*a*]*-a*[*q*]*-bi* [36]Ni^{meš} *a-šar awēlūti*^{meš} *ša q*[*āt*]*i-ka šu-ud-din-mi ù e-pu-uš-mi*

[37]*um-ma* ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be a-na* ^{m}*ša-aḫ-lu-te-šup la aq-bi* [38]Ni^{meš} *a-na sa-ti-in-ni-e ù ku-uš-*[*ba*]*-aḫ-ḫi-e* [39]*a-šar āli šu-ud-d*[*in*]*-mi*

[40]*um-ma* ^{m}*ḫa-ši-pá-pu-ma bīt*[*āti*^{meš}] ..... [*i*]*k-ta-an-ku* [41]*ù* ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be* ^{Na}$_4$*kunukki-*[*šu-nu iḫ-te-pí*] [42]*ù bītāti*^{meš} *im-ta-šar*

[43]*um-ma* ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be-ma* ^{Na}$_4$*kunuk* [*ša bītāti*^{meš}] [44] ^{m}*ḫa-ši-pá-pu-*[*ma i*]*ḫ-pí ù bīt-z*[*u im-ta-šar*]

[45]*um-ma* ^{m}*ḫa-ši-*[*pá-pu-m*]*a* ^{m}*te-ḫu-u*[*p-še-en-ni*] [46]*ù* ^{m}*ú-nap-t*[*a-e*] *gišim-*

[a] The tablet reads *e* instead of *ia*.

maru^{ma-ru} ..... ^{47}*il-tar-qú ù [ina pa]-ni daiānī*$^{me[š]}$ .... ^{48}*ù* [^{m}*ku]-uš-ši-ḫ[ar-be]* ... (Rev.) ^{49}^{m}*zi-li-ip-til-la* ....* *zu ma* [b] ^{50}*pí-i-šu ša* ^{m}*du-ra-[ri]* .....*-ru ù ṭà-az-z[u]* .. ^{51}*ù awēlūti*^{meš} *za-ru-ti ša* ... ^{52} ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be il-[te-qì]* ^{53}*um-ma* ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be-[ma* ^{m}*te]-ḫu-up-še-en-ni [ù* ^{m}*]ú-nap-ta-e* ^{54}*ṭà-az-zu-nu la al-... ....-šu-nu-ti*

(Edge) ^{55}*aban* ^{m}*bar-ta-su-[a]* ^{56}*aban* ^{m}*bi-ri-a-aš-šu-ra* (Rest uninscribed)

2 (SMN 76)

^{1}*[um-ma* ^{m}*ni-nu-a-ri-ma]* ^{2}*[2* Su *ḫurāṣa a-na* ^{m}*ta-i-še-en-ni]* ^{3}*[at-t]a-din ù i-na* ^{4}*[ma]-ag-ra-at-ti uš-te-ši-wa-an-ni* ^{5}*[um]-ma* <*šu-ma*> ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be-ma* ^{6}*2* Su *ḫurāṣa il-qì um-ma* ^{m}*ni-nu-a-ri-ma a-n[a]* ^{7} ^{m}*ta-i-še-en-ni ad-din-mi* ^{8}*um-ma* ^{m}*ta-i-še-en-ni-ma* ^{9}*2* Su *ḫurāṣa a-na* ^{m}*ku-uš-ši-[ḫar-be]* ^{10}*ad-din 1 alpa ù 2* Udu^{meš} ^{11}*a-na ebūri*^{ri}*-ia iz-zi-i[z ù]* ^{12}*te-li-iq-qì-e ù li-qì*

(Rev.) ^{13}*[ab]an* ^{m}*ḫa-iš-te-šup*

3 (SMN 348)

^{1}*um-ma* ^{m}*zi-[li-ip-til-la* T]um.Lal *ša mar-ta-ti* ^{2}*ù 1* Udu *a-na [*^{m}*ḫu-uš-š]i-ḫar-be at-ta-din* ^{3}*ù um-ma šu-[ma ... š]a-du-um-ma* ^{4}*e-ip-pu-uš* (...) *an-nu-ti il-te-qì* ^{5}*ù ia-ši-ma ša-d[u]-um-ma la i-pu-ša-an-ni*

^{6}*um-ma* ^{m}*ki-in-tar-ma ša* ^{Uru}*an-ni-šu* ^{7}*il-te-nu-tu*$_4$ ^{Giš}*ṣumbu* [a] *5* Su *kaspa ṣar-pu* ^{8}*1 ni-en-zi-tu*$_4$ *ša 3* Ma.Na *30* Su *sipparra* ^{9}*1* Túg *2* Udu^{meš} *pa-qít-tum ù(?) an-nu-tum* ^{10} ^{m}*zi-li-ip-til-la il-te-qì* ^{11}*ù* ^{m}*zi-li-ip-til-la šeāti*^{meš} *ša-bu-ri ù* ^{12}*a-šar* ^{m}*ki-ri-ru-ka-[az]-zi i-te-ri-iš* ^{13}*1* Udu *il-te-qì ù ..imēr šeāti*^{meš} *ša-bu-ri* ^{14}*ina dīmti tam-qa[r-ri-wa] i-na bīti-šú it-ta-pa-ak* (...) ^{15}*[um-ma]* ^{m}*ḫa-ni-ú-[ma mār z]i-li-ip-til-la* ^{16}*... ta-an-n[i] .... i-te-is-ra-an-ni* ^{17}*um-ma šu-ma 1* Udu *ša [mu]-ul-li-e bi-la-am-mi* ^{18}*1 šaḫā il-te-qì-ma ù aḫu-ia un-te-eš-ši-ir*

^{19}*um-ma* ^{m}*ni-nu-a-ri-ma* ^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be* ^{20}*iš-tu*$_4$ *ma-aš-ka-ni-ia uš-te-ri-qà-an-[ni]* ^{21}*2* Su *ḫurāṣa 1 alpa ù 2* Udu Nita^{meš} ^{22}*a-na* ^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be at-ta-din-ma ù u[t-t]e-ir-ra-an-ni*

^{23}*um-ma* ^{m}*te-ḫi-ia-ma šeāti*^{meš} *ka-ru-ú* ^{24}*ša ma-la imēr 5 awiḫāru eqli ù* In.Nu$^{un\ meš}$ ^{25} ^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be e-mu-qà il-te-qì-ma* ^{26}*ù a-na* ^{m}*ḫa-ma-an-na* ^{Lú}*nag-gāru it-ta-din*

^{27}*um-ma* ^{m}*mār-*^{d}*ištar-ma zi-ib-lu*^{meš} ^{28}*ša 1 imēr 5 awiḫāri eqli* ^{Lú}Nu.Giš.Šar ^{29}*ša* ^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be il-te-qì-ma* ^{30}*ù um-ma a-na-ku-ma am-mi-ni* ^{31}*zi-ib-li te-li-iq-qì-mi* (Rev.) ^{32}*ù um-ma šu-ma at-ta a-na ra-pa-sí* ^{33}*iq-bu-ka-mi ù dīmit-ka a-na na-pa-li* ^{34}*iq-bu-k[a](?) ù a-na-ku ap-ta-la-aḫ-ma* ^{35}*ù ir-te-iq*

^{36}*um-ma* ^{m}*wi-ra-at-t[e]-ia-ma* ^{37} ^{m}*šúk-ri-te-šup a-na r[i-]a-[an]-ti* ^{38}*iš-ta-*

[b] Error for *ki-ma?*

[a] *GIŠ.MAR.GID.DA*

ak-nu i-na abullim^{lim} *i-te-is-*[*ra-an-ni*](*?*) ^{39}*1* Udu Nita *il-te-qì-ma ù un-te-eš-ši-ra-an-ni* ^{40} ^{m}*ḫa-ši-pa-pu i-na nu-pa-ri* ^{41}*it-ta-dá-an-ni 1* Udu Nita *il-te-qì-ma* ^{42}*ù un-te-eš-ši-ra-an-ni* ^{43} ^{m}*ki-bi-ia mār a-be-ia* ^{Lú}*rē'ū-ia* ^{44}*ir-ta-pí-is 2* Udu^{meš} *ù 1 lalū*(Máš) *il-te-qì* ^{45} ^{m}*ar-ta-še-en-ni a-n*[*a*] .... ^{46}*iš-ta-ka-an ù* .... Ma.Na ... ^{47}*1 zi-a-na-tum* .... ^{Giš}*eršu* ^{48}*1* ..... ^{49}*ù* .....*-mi* ^{50}*ù ik-*.....

^{51}*um-ma* ... ... *ru-uš-du-ú* ^{52} *ù 1* Túg ..... [^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši*]-*ḫar-be* ^{53}*e-mu-qam-*[*ma il-te-qì*]*-ma ik-ta-la*

^{54}*um-ma* ^{m}*dub-b*[*i-ia*](*?*) .... [^{m}..*-ši*](*?*)*-ip-a-pu* ^{55}*ir-ta-ap-sà-*[*an-ni ù*] *1* Udu *il-te-qì*

^{56}*um-ma* ^{m}*pa-a-a* .... [*aš-ša*](*?*)*-ti* ^{m}*peš-ki-ili-šu* ^{57}*i-na .. ka uš* .... *a-na-ku a-na* ^{58}*mu-uš-šu-ḫu* ... [*at*]*-ta-la-ak* ^{59}*iṣ-ṣa-ab-ta-an-ni-ma ù 40 i-na* ^{60} ^{Giš}*ḫu-ṭá-ar-*[*ri*] *ir-ta-ap-sa-an-ni* ^{61}*2* Udu^{meš} *ù 1* [Ma.Na] *anāku*^{meš} *at-ta-din* ^{62}*ù aššati*^{ti} [*un-te*]*-eš-ši-ir* ^{63} ^{m}*ḫa-ši-pa-pu* [*i-na mu*]*-pa-ni-ri* ^{64}*i-na* .... [*e*]*-ru-ub* (Edge)^{65}*2 imēr šea 5* (*sātu*) *kibāti*^{meš} *ù 1* Udu Nita *e-mu-qa il-te-qì* ^{66}*kunuk* ^{m}*ḫa-iš-te-šup* ^{67}*kunuk* ^{m}*pa-a-a*

4 (SMN 13)

^{1}*um-ma* ^{m}*zi-li-ip-til-la-ma* ^{2} ^{f}*bi-za-tum i-na ša-at-*[*t*]*a-aq-dá* ^{3} ^{f}*ḫu-me-ri-el-li ur-te-im-mi-šu-ma* ^{4}*a-na-ku ù* ^{m}*ši-mi-til-la* ^{5}*i-na mu-ši ni-it-ta-la-ak-ma* ^{6}*ni-il-ta-sí-šu-ma a-šar* ^{7} ^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be-ma ni-it-ta-bal-šu-ma* ^{8}*ù it-ti-ik-šu* ^{9}*um-ma* ^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be la* ^{10}*ù-la-mi la a-wa-du-mi la a-ni-ik-šu-mi*

^{11}*um-ma* ^{m}*pal-te-ia-ma* ^{12} ^{f}*ḫu-me-ri-el-li al-ta-sí-iš* ^{13}*i-na bīt ḫu-ri-za-ti ša* ^{f}*ti-lu-un-na-a-a* ^{14}*uš-te-ri-ib-šu* ^{15}*ù* ^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be it-ti-ik-šu* ^{16}*um-ma* ^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be-ma* ^{17}*šum-ma* (erasure) ^{f}*ḫu-me-ri-el-li* ^{18}*i-na bīt ḫu-ri-za-ti* ^{19}*ša* ^{f}*ti-lu-un-na-a-a* ^{20} ^{m}*pal-te-ia ú-bi-il-šu-ma* ^{21}*ù a-na-ku a-ni-ik-šu-ma*

(Rev.) ^{22}*kunuk* ^{m}*ar-ḫa-ma-an-na* ^{23}*kunuk* ^{m}*te-ḫi-ip-šarri* ^{24}*kunuk* ^{m}*bar-ta-aš-šu-a* (Edge) ^{25}*qāt* $^{m\ d}$*Nabū-ilu* [a]

5 (SMN 346)

^{1}*um-ma ṣabē*^{meš} *ša* ^{Uru}*nu-zi-ma* ^{2}*92* Udu^{meš} ^{m}[*ki-bi*]*-ia il-te-qì-šu-nu-ti* ^{3}*šum-ma ina ēkallim*^{lim} *la ú-še-ri-ib-š*[*u-n*]*u-ti ù šum-ma an-na-aš-ni* ^{5}*la ut-te-ir-ru-šu-nu-ti* ^{6}*um-ma* ^{m}*ki-bi-ia-ma* ^{7}*90* (*2* erased) Udu^{meš} *a-na qa-az-za-*UR*-ni* ^{8}*ša* ^{Giš}*ṣumbāni*^{meš} [*ni*]*-il-te-qì-ma* ^{9}*ù 7* Udu^{meš} *i-na libbi*^{bi}*-šu-nu* ^{10}[*i*]*-na* ^{Giš}*kirī i-te-ip-šu-šu-nu-ti-ma* ^{11}[*ù*] *ṣabē*^{meš} *ša* ^{Uru}*nu-zi-ma i-ta-kál-šu-nu-ti* ^{12}[*ù u*]*m-ma ṣabē*^{meš} *ša* ^{Uru}*nu-zi-ma* ^{13}[*šērāni*]^{meš} *la ni-ku-ul-mi* ^{14}*um-ma* ^{m}*pa-a-a* ^{m}*ú-ta-a-a* ^{15}*ù* ^{m}*qa-wi-in-ni-ma ni-nu* ^{16}*šērāni*^{meš} *ni-ku-*[*ul*]*-mi*

^{17}*um-ma ṣabē*^{meš} *ša* ^{Uru}*nu-zi-ma* ^{18}*1 ma-at* [*50*] [Udu](*?*)^{meš} **a-na iš-ši-si* ^{19}[^{m}*ki-bi-ia*] *ú-ša-at-ta-an* ^{20}[*ù im-ma-ti*]*-im-me-e* Udu^{meš}*-šu* ^{21}[*ma-a-du*] *ù*

[a] $^{m\ d}$*Ak.Ka-Dingir Ra.*

a-na erīmeš [22][*ú-ša*]*-at-ta-an* (Rev.) [23]*1 šu-š*[*i*] Udumeš *i-n*[*a*] ..... [24]*a-na iš-*[*si*]*-si i-ip-pu-šu* [25]*ù 90* Udumeš (..) *ša-šu* [26]*i-ka*$_4$*-al-la-šu-nu-ti*

[27]*um-ma* m*ki-bi-ia-ma šum-ma* [28]Udumeš *iš-si-si* [*š*]*a*(*?*) *ú-ša-at-ta-nu* [29]*ma-a-du ù a-na* [*1 ma*]*-at* Udumeš [30]*i-qa-aš-ša-du* [*ù*] *šum-ma mi-i-zu* [31]*a-na 70 a-na šu-*[*ši*] [Udu]meš *i-qa-aš-ša-du* [32]*ù i-na libbibi* .... *šu-ši* Udumeš [33]*ša in-ni-i*[*b-b*]*u* [*ù* ... *a-n*]*a iš-si-si a-na-ku a-kál* [34]*ù ri-iḫ-ti* Udumeš [35] m*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be i-ik-kál* [36]*ù i-na erīmeš la ú-ša-at-ta-az-zu-nu-ti*

[37]*kunuk* m*pa-*[*a*]*-a* [38]*kunuk* m*ḫa-iš-te-šup*

6 (SMN 309)

[1]*um-ma* m*ḫu-i-te-ma 17* Udubi.a meš*-ia* [2] m*ki-bi-ia a-na 1* u_4*-mi-ma il-te-qì-šu-nu-ti* [3]*um-ma šu-ma* Udubi.a meš *ša ēkallimlim-mi* [4]*šum-ma a-na ša ēkallimlim la iddindin-šu-nu-ti* [5]*ù šum-ma a-na ia-ši la ú-te-ir-šu-nu-ti*

[6]*um-ma* m*ki-bi-ia-ma* m*ki-pa-a-a* [7] Lú*rē'ū ša* m*gi-li-ia a-na mu-ru-ti* [8]*i-te-l*[*i ù u*]*m-ma šu-ma 17* Udubi.a meš [9]*an-nu-*[*ti ša ēk*]*allimlim-mi ù* m*a-ri-im-ma-at-qa* [10][*i*]*t-ti* [m. . . .]*-a-pu-ma iš-tap-ra-an-ni* [11]*ù* [Udubi.a meš]*-šu-nu nu-uṣ-ṣí-ib-bi-it* [12]*ù* m[.... m*a-ri*]*-ma-at-qa ik-ta-na-ak-šu-nu-ti-ma* [13]*ù i-*[*na*] [*ēkallim*] *ul*(*?*)* *it-ta-din-šu-nu-ti* [14]*ù i-na* [17 Udubi.a]meš *ša-a-šu-nu 4* Udumeš [15][*a*]*-šar* m*šúk-r*[*i-i*]*a il-te-qì-šu-nu-ti* [16][*ù*] m*ki-pa-a-a* Lú*mu-ru 1 na-am-zi*(*?*)*-ta* [17][*a*]*-šar* m*šúk-ri-ia il-te-qì ù* Udubi.a meš [18][*un*]*-te-eš-ši-ru*

[19][*um*]*-ma* m*a-ri-im-ma-at-qa-ma* [20][*17* Udu]bi.a meš m[*ki*]*-bi-ia ú-bi-il-šu-nu-ti* [21].... *ú-ta* .... m*ni-iḫ-ri-ia* [22].... *ta na* .... *ti ù i-na qa-ti* [23][m*ki-bi-i*]*a-ma* .... [*it*]*-ta-din-šu-nu-ti* [24].... *5* Udumeš *a-*[*šar* m]*šúk-ri-ia* [25][*il-te*]*-qì-šu-nu-ti i-*[*na 1*]*7* Udubi.a meš [26]... [*ú*]*-me-eš-ši-ir-šu-*[*nu-ti*]

[27][*um*]*-ma* m*šúk-ri-ia-ma 4* Udumeš [28] m*ki-bi-ia il-te-qì-šu-nu-ti* [29]*ù i-na libbibi* Udumeš *ša-a-šu-nu 2* [Udumeš] [30]*un-te-eš-ši-ir-šu-nu-ti ù 2* Udumeš [31]*ik-ta-la-šu-nu-ti um-ma šu-ma-mi am-mi-ni-im-ma-mi* Gameš*-ka*$_4$ *a-na mēmeš še-gi-e tù-bi-il-šu-nu-ti-mi*

[32]*um-ma* m*ki-bi-ia-ma* m*a-ri-im-ma-at-*[*qa*] [33]*iš-tap-ra-an-ni ù um-ma šu-ma* [34]*am-mi-ni* Gišṣumbāni meš*-šu* [35]*ša* m*ki-ri-ia i-na eqel ugarēmeš* (Rev.) [36]*ša ēkallimlim la ú-ri-du-mi* [37]*a-li-ik-ma-mi ù 4* Udumeš*-šu* [38]*ṣa-ba-at-mi at-ta-la-ak-ma* [39]*ù 4* Udumeš *aṣ-ṣa-bat-zu-nu-ti ù* [40]*a-na* m*a-ri-im-ma-at-qa ú-bi-il-šu-nu-*[*ti*] [42]*2* Udumeš*-šu un-te-eš-ši-ir ù 2* Udumeš*-šu* [42]*i-na ma-ag-ra-at-ti ša ēkallimlim* m*ḫu-ti-ia* L[ú*in-q*]*a*(*?*)*-ru* [43]*iṭ-ṭá-ba-aḫ-šu-nu-ti ù awēlūtimeš za-bi-il* [44] Gišṣumbāni meš *i-ta-ak-lu-šu-nu-ti*

[45]*um-ma* m*a-ri-im-ma-at-qa-ma* [46]*a-an-ni-mi aš-pu-*[*u*]*r-šu-mi*

[47]*ù um-ma awēlūtimeš za-bi-il* Gišṣumbāni meš*-šu* [48]*la ni-ku-ul-šu-nu-ti-mi*

[49]*um-ma* m*ip-šá-ḫa-lu-ma* m*šúk-ri-ia* [50]*awēlu ṣa-bi-it* Udumeš *ù 1* Udu-*ia il-*

te-qì [51] ^{m}*šúk-ri-ia ir-te-ku-šu-ma* [52]*ù i-na arḫi^{bi} ša-a-šu-ma* ^{m}*ki-bi-ia* [53]*uš-te-ši-bu-uš ù ša-nu-ú* Udu [54] ^{m}*ki-bi-ia il-te-qì*

[55]*um-ma* ^{m}*ki-bi-ia-ma ú-la-mi* [56]*1* Udu-*šu i-na arḫi^{bi} ša-a-šu la el-qì-mi* [57]*i-na du-ub-bu-ú-mi-šu 1* Udu-*šu* [58]*el-te-qì-mi*

[59]*um-ma* ^{m}*zi-qa-an-ta-ma* [60]*iš-tu$_4$* ^{Kur}*ḫa-ni-gal-bat at-ta-al-ka$_4$* [61]*ù* ^{m}*ki-bi-ia lu-ba-ri il-te-qì* [62]*2 imēr šeāti^{meš} at-ta-din-ma ù* Ku-*ri* [63]*un-te-eš-ši-ir*

[64][*um-ma*] ^{m}*ki-bi-ia-ma 1* Máš.Tur [65]*....* ^{m}*du-ul-du-uq-qa a-na ḫubulli* [66]*..... ù zi-qa-an-ta* [67]*...* [^{m}*du*]*-ul-du-uq-qa at-ta-din* [68][*2 imēr še*]*āti^{meš} la el-qì*

(Edge) [69]*qāt* ^{m}*ḫu-ti-ia tupšarri* [70]*kunuk* ^{m}*ḫa-iš-te-šup*

7 (SMN 356)

[1]*um-ma* ^{m}*a-kap-še-en-ni-ma* [2] ^{Lú}*mār ši-ip-ru ša ēkallim^{lim}* [3]*it-ta-al-ka$_4$ ù iq-ta-bi* [4]*aš-šum ti-tu-ú-ri ša ḫi-pu-ú* [5]*2* Udu^{meš} *ka-az-za-*Ur-*nu* [6]*ša* ^{Lú}*ḫa-za-an-ni bi-la-am-mi* [7]*ù a-na-ku 2* Udu Nita^{meš} *a-šar* [8] ^{m}*a-ri-im-ma-at-qa a-na ḫubulli* [9]*el-te-qì ù a-na* ^{m}*ul-lu-ia šu-a-na-at-ḫi* [10]*at-ta-din ù a-na ēkallim^{lim} it-ta-bal-šu* [11]*ù ia-ši it-ti* ^{m}*gi-li-ia-ma* [12] ^{m}*ḫa-ši-ip-a-pu* ^{Lú}*ḫa-za-an-nu* [13]*i-na dīmti ka-a-ri iš-tap-ra-an-ni* [14]*ù 12* Udu$^{bi.a\ meš}$ *uṣ-ṣí-ib-bi-it-ma* [15]*ù i-na bīt^{it}* ^{m}*ḫa-ši-pa-pu* [16]*nu-uš-te-ri-ib ù aš-ra-nu-um-ma* [17]*ik-ta-lu-ú ù i-na-an-na* [18] ^{m}*a-ri-im-ma-at-qa i-na arki^{ki} ebūri* [19]*aš-šum 2* Udu^{meš} *il-ta-na-as-sí* [20]*a-na* ^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be e-ḫé-en-nu-ma* [21]*ù la i-ša-a-la-an-ni*

[22]*um-ma* ^{m}*a-kap-še-en-ni-ma 2* Udu^{meš} [23]*en-šu-tù ša i-mu-ut-tù* [24] ^{m}*eḫ-li-ip-a-pu a-na qāt aḫi-ia* [25]*it-ta-din ù um-ma šu-ma* [26]*ša* ^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be-mi ù* [*b*]*u-ul-li-iz-zu-nu-ti-mi* [27]*ù ki-i id-dì-nu-ma* [28]*ù im-tù-tù ù a-na-ku* [29]*8 imēr eqla* (sic) *a-na di-te-en-nu-t*[*i*] [30]*a-na mār* ^{m}*ar-zi-iz-za* [31]*at-ta-din* (Rev.) [32]*ù 2* Udu^{meš} *el-te-qì-*[*mi*] [33]*ù a-na* ^{m}*eḫ-li-ip-a-*[*pu-m*]*a* [34]*at-ta-din*

[35]*um-ma* ^{m}*eḫ-li-ip-a-pu-ma* [36]*la ad-din a-na-ku* [37] ^{m}*ḫa-ši-ip-a-pu-ma i-din-šu-nu-ti* [38]*ù* ^{m}*ḫa-ši-ip-a-pu-ma il-qì*

[39]*um-ma* ^{m}*ḫa-na-tum-ma bīta ú-ṣa-al-la-al* [40]*ù pu-ú-ra i-na muḫḫi^{bi}* [41]*iṣē^{meš} pa-ri-za-ti ad-dì* [42] ^{m}*zi-li-ip-til-la ù 1* ^{Lú}*wardu* [43]*ša* ^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be it-ta-al-ku* [44]*ù pu-ú-ra ka*(*?*)*-am-ru* [45]*bīti^{ti} ka-wa-du-um-ma i-t*[*e-i*]*p-šu* [46]*ù pu-ú-ra a-na* ^{m}*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be* [47]*il-te-qú-ú*

[48]*um-ma* ^{m}*te-ḫi-ip-til-l*[*a-ma*] [49] ^{m}*ḫa-ši-ip-a-pu* [Túg]$^{bi.a\ meš}$ [50]*a-na awēlūti^{meš} ú-pa-ra-*[*ti*]*uš-te-id-dì-in* [51]*ša al-lu-ti* Túg$^{bi.a\ meš}$ *ut-te-ir-ru* [52]*ù ud-du-ia lu-ba-ri* [53]*ik-ta-la*

[54]*um-ma* ^{m}*dub-bi-ia-ma* [55]*1* Udu Nita ^{m}*zi-li-ip-til-la* [56]*il-te-qì ù i-na bīti-šú iṭ-ṭá-bá-aḫ* [57]*ù i-ta-kál*

[58]*kunuk* ^{m}*ḫa-iš-te-šup* [59]*kunuk* ^{m}*pa-a-a*

8 (SMN 2693)

1*um-ma* m*it-ḫi-iš-ta-ma 1 aḫu-ia* 2 m*peš-ki-il-li-šu il-te-qì* 3*ù a-na ḫu-ša-ú-ru-ti i-na* Uru*ḫa-ši-ik-ku-wa-ma* 4*uš-te-ri-ib-šu i-na 1 arḫibi a-ši-ib* 5*i-na ša-ni-i arḫibi la ú-me-eš-ši-ru-uš* 6*ù i-na ša-aš-ši arḫibi 2 aḫēmeš-ia* 7*ṣi-dì-ta il-te-qú-ma ù it-ta-at-la-ku* 8*i-na dīmti ši-la-ḫi-iš ik-ta-al-du-ma* 9*ù 1 awēla ša* Uru*ar-ra-ap-ḫi i-ta-ag-ru* 10*1 aḫu-ia il-te-qì-ma ù i-na* Uru*ḫa-ši-ik-ku-wa-ma* 11*ṣi-dì-ta uš-te-ri-bu ù it-ta-zu-ú* 12*1 aḫu-ia ša ṣí-dì-ta ú-še-ri-bu* 13 Lú*nakrēmeš id-du-u*[*k*]*-šu ù awēla ša āl-ilāni* 14*a-na ba-al-ṭú-ti-im-ma it-tab-lu-uš* 15*ù a-bu-šu ša awēli ša āl-ilāni it-tal-ka*$_4$*-am-ma* 16*ù aḫu-ia ša* [*ir-te-iḫ*]*(?) iṣ-ṣa-bat ù iq-ta-bi* 17*māri-ia ta-gu*$_5$*-u*[*r-mi*] *ù nakrēm*[*eš*] *il-te-qì-mi* 18*3* Udumeš *1* Túg *aš-*.... .. M[a.N]a *erāmeš* 19*ù 1 ni-en-zi-tum ša* [*siparri*] *il-te-qì* 20*ù aḫu-ia un-te-eš-*[*ši-ir*] 21*um-ma* m*na-ni-ia-ma* m*it-ḫi-ip-a-ri aḫu-ia* 22*i-na* Uru*du-ur-ta-ni-ia a-ši-ib* 23*ù* m*peš-ki-il-li-šu iš-tum il-ki* 24*un-te-eš-ši-ir-šu 1 amta 1 mašak alpi ša-li-mu* 25*ù ša 2 ṣi-mi-it-ti iṣēmeš ḫa-al-wa-at-ru* 26*a-na ṭá-a-ti il-te-qì*

27*um-ma* f*ḫi-in-zu-ri-ma aššat*at m*zi-li-ia* 28*1* Udu *a-na ṭá-a-ti a-na* m*peš-ki-ili-šu* 29*at-ta-din ù um-ma a-na-ku-ma aš-šum eqlātimeš-ia* 30*it-ti* m*ka-ri-ru di-ni e-pu-uš-mi* 31*di-ni la īpušuš aš-šum* Udu-*ia aq-ta-bi* 32*ù ir-ta-ap-sà-an-ni-ma ù* Udu*ri* 33*ik-ta-la ù iṣ-ṣa-ab-ta-an-ni-ma* (Rev.) 34*ù 6* Ma.Na *erāmeš il-te-qì ù um-ma* 35*šu-ma ki-mu-ú ša-at-ta-aq-dì el-qì-mi*

36*um-ma* m*ḫu-ia-ma 1 šu-ú-du ša šar-ti* 37 m*peš-ki-ili-šu e-mu-qam-ma il-qì*

38*um-ma* m*ḫa-ši-ia-ma a-na ik-ka-ru-ti* 39*a-na* m*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be it-ta-ad-nu-ni-in-ni* 40*i-na ka-lu-mi-e ir-ri-iš ù i-na mu-ši* (1 sign erased) 41*i-na bītiti at-ta-la-ak ù* m*ú-na-ap-ta-ar-ni* 42*warad ša* m*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be iṣ-ṣa-ab-ta-an-ni-ma* 43*ù um-ma šu-ma am-mi-ni i-na bītiti-ka*$_4$ 44*ta-al-li-ik-mi ù 1* Túg^{Du} *ša ši-ma* An. Ṣab 45*il-te-qì ù* m*peš-ki-ili-šu iṣ-ṣa-ab-ta-*: *-an-ni-ma* 46*ù i-na qāt* m*i-ni-ia a-na 1* (*pi*) *20* (*qa*) *šeātimeš* 47*it-ta-ad-na-an-ni ù 1* (*pi*) *20* (*qa*) *šeātimeš iš-tu*$_4$ 48*muḫḫibi-ia il-te-qì*

49*um-ma* m*ut-ḫa-a-a-ma 1* Udu *ù 1 en-zu* 50*e-mu-qa* m*peš-ki-ili-šu il-qì*

51*um-ma* m*zi-gi-ma 1* Udu *e-mu-qa* 52 m*peš-ki-ili-šu il-qì i-na ša-lu-uš-mu*

53*um-ma* m*pal-te-ia-ma 1* Udu ri m*peš-ki-ili-šu ilteqi*

54*um-ma* m*pa-li-ia-ma 1* Ma.Na *anākumeš* 55*1* Giš*paššūru ša šēpēmeš-šú ša* Giš*urkarinni* 56*ù 1* Giš*erša* m*peš-ki-ili-šu e-mu-qa il-qì*

57*um-ma* m*ḫa-na-ak-ka-ma 1* Giš*qašta e-mu-qa* 58 m*peš-ki-ili-šu il-qì ù 6* (*pi*) *10* (*qa*) *šea* 59*a-šar aḫi-ia a-na* ...*-ma-lu-ti il-qì*

60*um-ma* m*šúk-ri-te-*[*šup-ma 1*] Udu m*peš-ki-ili-šu* 61*a-na ši-mi il-qì* [*ù*] *ši-im-šu la i-din* 62*ù šum-ma* Udu *la* [*ut*]*-te-ir i-na 3-lu-mu*

63*um-ma* m*ḫa-tar-te-ma i-na* Kur*ḫa-lì-gal-bat* 64*at-ta-al-ka*$_4$ *ù aš-šum di-ni-ia i-na* 65*qāt* m*peš-ki-ili-šu it-ta-ad-nu-ni-in-ni* 66*1* Udu *1 ni-en-zi-tum ša siparri ù 2 dalāti* 67 m*aḫu-mi-ša a-na ṭá-a-ti a-na* 68 m*peš-ki-ili-šu it-ta-din* (Left Edge) 69*ù di-ni la i-puš* 70*kunuk* m*pa-a-a* 71*kunuk* m*ḫa-iš-te-šup*

9 (SMN 809)

1*um-ma* m*ḫu-zi-ri-ma* 2*6* Su *kaspa ṣa-ar-pu* 3*a-na* m*peš-ki-ili-šu* 4*at-ta-din* 5*um-ma a-na-ku-ma* 6*a-na* m*ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be* 7*i-din-ma ù* 8*di-ni li-pu-uš* 9*1 qa-ši-ir-na* 10*ša* Giš*narkabti* 11*at-ta-din* 12*di-ni la i-pu-šu* 13*6* Su *kaspi*pi 13*ù 1 qa-ši-ir-nu* 13*ša* Giš*narkabti* m*peš-ki-ili-šu* 14*ik-ta-la*

10 (SMN 319)

1*um-ma* m*ú-na-a-a-ma 1 en-zu* m*ḫu-ti-i*[*a*] 2*a-na ia-ši iddina*na *ù* m*gi-li-ia* 3*iṣ-ṣa-bat ù ti-iq-qa-šu uk-te-en-ni-ku* 4*di-na-ni iṣ-ṣa-bat-ma ù* m*peš-ki-ili-šu* 5 Na4*kunukki-šu iḫ-te-pé-ma ù a-na* m*ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be itepušuš* 6 m*ta-a-a mār a-ra-a-a a-na 3 bilat erīmeš* 7*a-na ia-ši id-du-ú ù* m*peš-ki-ili-šu* 8*e-mu-qa i-na ta-lu-uḫ-li-e il-te-qì*

9*um-ma* m*šu-mu-ut-ra-ma 2* Udumeš*-ia* 10 m*peš-ki-ili-šu il-te-qì ù ik-ta-la* 11Sal *gal-la-ti il-te-qì ù a-na 11 arḫēmeš* 12*i-na bīti-šú i-si-ir-šu*

13*um-ma* m*du-ra-ri-ma 2* Udumeš m*peš-ki-ili-šu* 14*il-te-qì ša ṣābēmeš il-ti-in-nu-ú* 15*un-te-eš-ši-ru ù ud-du-ia ik-ta-lu-ú*

16*um-ma* m*ip-ša-ḫa-lu-ma* Lúišpāru *1* Udu m*peš-ki-ili-šu* 17*il-te-qì ù ik-ta-la ù ša awēlūtimeš e-pé-iš šipātimeš* 18Udubi.a meš*-šu-nu ú-me-eš-ši-ru*

19*um-ma* m*ar-ša-wa-ma a-na-ku i-na* Urutúr*-ša aš-bá-ak* 20*ù* m*peš-ki-ili-šu i-na bīti-ia i-te-ru-um-ma* 21 Giš*daltiti it-ta-za-aḫ-ma ù il-te-qì* 22*ù bītiti ug-te-el-li-bu*

11 (SMN 220)

1*um-ma* m*ki-in-na-an-*[*ni-ma*] 2*1 na-ri-i šipāti* m[*ar-zi-iz-za*] 3*a-na iš-qa-ri a-šar* .... 4*il-te-qì ù ik-*[*ta-la*]

5*um-ma* m*ar-zi-iz-za-ma* 6 m*ki-in-na-an-ni im*(*?*)*-ta-zi* 7*ù ša i-ip-pu-šu ia-nu* 8*ù šipātimeš ša-ak-nu*

9*um-ma* m*ki-in-na-an-ni-ma* 10*il-te-nu-tum up-pa-ša-an-nu* 11 m*ar-zi-iz-za ik-ta-la*

12*um-ma* m*ar-zi-iz-za-ma* 13*e-te-pu-uz-zu-nu ù uš-tu*4 14*ēkallimlim za-ḫu-lu-um-ma i-te-ip-šu*(*?*)*-ma*(*?*)*-ni*(*?*) 15*ù i-na ebūriri-ia-ma ša-ak-nu*

16*um-ma* m*ki-in-na-an-ni-ma* 17*ku-uz-pa-aḫ-ḫa*meš *ù q*[*a-t*]*i-š*[*u*]-[*nu*](*?*) 18*ša awēlūtimeš ša* .... 19*ša iš-tu*4 ..... 20*i-te-ip-šu* ..... 21 m*ar-zi-iz-*[*za*] .... 22 m*me-li-en-za-aḫ* ..... 23*a-na* m*ta-ri-bu-ia* ..... (Rev.) 24*it-ta-na-an-din-šu-*[*nu-ti*]

25*um-ma* m*ar-zi-iz-za-ma* .... 26*awēlūtimeš q*[*a*]-.... 27*i-ip-pu-šu ù* ....

25*um-ma* m*ar-zi-iz-za-ma* .... 26*awēlūtimeš q*[*a*]-.... 27*i-ip-pu-šu ù* 28 m*me-li-en-za-aḫ* ... 29*ù a-na* m*ta-ri-bu-ia* 30*at-ta-na-an-din*

31*kunuk* m*pa-a-a* 32*kunuk* m*ta-š*[*e*]-...

12 (SMN 391)

[1]..... [pl]..... [2]..... *šu* ..... [3]..... *lu il-li-*[*ik*] ... [4].... *šu lu* [m]*zi-*... [5].....

[6]*um-ma* [m]*ki-bi-ia-ma* [7]*a-na ša-at-ta-an ša-at-*[*ta-an*] [8]*1* Udu-*šu a-na iš-si-si* [9]*a-ṣa-ab-bat*

[10]*um-ma* [m]*be-la-a-bi-ma* [11] [m]*ki-bi-ia iṣ-ṣa-ab-ta-*... [12]*ù i-na bīt nu-ba-*[*ri*] [13]*ù 1* Udu *il-te-qì* ... [14]*ša-nu-ú arḫu*[bu] ... [15]*ù* Udu-*ia il-*[*te-qì*] ... [16]*ù lu-ba-ri* ...

[17]*um-ma* [m]*ki-*[*bi-ia-ma*] [18]*1* Udu *a-na* ... [19]*ù ša-nu-ú* .... [20]*ka-az-zu* [21]*qāt* [m d]*sin-na-din-š*[*um*]

13 (SMN 559)

[1][*um-ma* [m]*a*]*-kap-ta-e-ma* [2]..... *a-ḫu-ia* [3].....*-ma i-na il-ki* [4]..... ...*-ši** [5]..... *1* Udu *a-na* [6][[m]*ku-uš-ši*]*-ḫar-be at-ta-din* [7][*ù a-n*]*a-ku-ma it-ti* [8]....*-ni-en-mi ta-*.... [9]... *ḫurāṣi 1* Udu *il-*[*qì*] [10].. *a-na ia-ši it-*.... [11]..*-ú-zi-mi* ....

(Rev.) (partly lost and partly uninscribed)

14 (SMN 1048)

[1][*um-ma*] [m d]*adad-šarru-*[*ma*] [2][*1 en*]*-zum a-na* [m][*pé-eš-ki-il-li-šu*] [3][*a*]*t-ta-din ù um-*[*ma*] ... [4].. *ša* ..*-mi-e* .... [5]*ù iš-tu*$_4$ *a-*.... [6].....*) [7]*1 en-zum* .. *il-te-*[*qì*] [8]*ù ia-*..... [9]*ù* [m]*i-ri-*[*ri*]*-til-la un-te-eš-ši-ra-an-ni*

[10]*um-ma* [m]*pé-*[*eš*]*-ki-il-li-šu* [11]*1 en-zum* [m d]*adad-šarru id-dì-na* [12]*um-ma šu-ma aš-ša*(*?*)*-pa-ku-mi* [13]*ù ma-am-ma lu-ú* [14]*la ú-*.. **-an*(*?*)*-za-mi* [15]*ù*(*?*) *aš-š*[*um*] *a-lik it-ti* ... (2 or 3 lines destroyed)

[16]*kunuk* [m]*tar-mi-ia* [17]*kunuk* [m]*pa-a-a*

15 (SMN 2101)

[1]*lišān-šu ša* [m]*wa-at-wa* [2]*mār ṭāb-šarri a-na pa-ni* [3] [Lú]*daiānī*[meš] *ki-a-am iq-ta-bi* [4] [f]*tu*$_4$*-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* [5]*aššat*[at] [m]*ḫa-šu-ar a-na ma-ru-ti* [6]*e-te-pu-uz-zu-mi* [7]*ù* [Giš]*kirā i-na e-li-en* [Uru]*te-im-*⟨*te*⟩*-na-aš* [8]*i-na li-it* [Giš]*kirī ša* [m]*wa-an-ti-iš-še i-na mu-ra-a-ki* [9]*20 i-na si-id-dì ù i-na ru-up-p*[*ú*] [10]*7 i-na pu-ri-ti a-na* [f]*tu*$_4$*-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* [11]*at-ta-din-mi ù* [f]*tu*$_4$*-ul-pu-*[*un*]*-na-a-a* [12]*a-na ia-ši 1* [Giš]*qašta ki-mu* [13]*qīšti-ia it-ta-ad-na* [14]*šum-ma* [Giš]*kirū pa-qí-ra-na iraššīši* [15]*ù a-na-ku-ma ú-za-ak-kà* [16]*iš-tu u*$_4$*-mi an-ni-im* [17] [m][*wa*]*-at-wa aš-šum* [Giš]*kirī* [18]*i-*[*na*] *arki*[ki] [f]*tu*$_4$*-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* [19]*la i-ša-as-sí*

[20]*qāt* [m d]*nabū-ilu* ([m d]Ak.Dingir-ra) *tupšarru* (Rev.) [21]*kunuk* [m]*tar-mi-ia mār ú-nap-ta-e* [22]*kunuk* [m]*te-eš-šu-ia mār šarri* [23]*kunuk* [m]*zi-il-te-šup mār zu-ia*

16 (SMN 2021)

1*lišān-šu-nu ša* m*še-en-na-ag-ga* 2*ša* m*ar-ša-an-ta ù ša* m*a-ri-ip-šarri* 3*mārīmeš e-en-na-ma-ti a-na pa-ni* 4 Lú*daiānīmeš ki-a-am iq-ta-bu-ú* 5*ma-la awiḫāru kirā i-na* Uru*te-im-te-na-aš* 6*i-na li-it kirī ša* m*te-en-te* 7*a-na qīšti-šu a-na* f*tu$_4$-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* 8*aššatat* m*ḫa-šu-ar ni-it-ta-din-m*[*i*] 9*šum-ma kirū ša ni-it-ti-nu* 10*pa-qi-ra-na i-ra-aš-ši* 11*ù ni-nu-ma nu-za-ak-kà* 12*iš-tu u$_4$-mi an-ni-im* 13*3 aḫūmeš mārū e-en-na-ma-*[*ti*] 14*aš-šum 1 awiḫāri kirī an-ni-i*[*m*] 15*i-na arkiki* f*tu$_4$-ul-p*[*u-un-na-a-a*] 16*la i-ša-as-sú-ú* . . . 17*qāt* d*nabū-ilu* (dAk.Dingir-ra) *tupšarri*

(Rev.) 18*kunuk* m*zi-il-te-šup mār* [*zu-ia*] 19*kunuk tar-mi-ia mār ú-nap-*[*ta-e*] 20*kunuk* m*te-eš-šu-ia mār šarri*

17 (SMN 2036)

1*li-ša-an-šu ša* m*na-i-še-ri* 2*mār na-al-du-ia a-na pa-ni* 3*ḫal-zu-uḫ-li-e ki-na-an-na* 4*iq-ta-bi 1 imēr eqla i-na* Uru*te-im-te-na-aš* 5*i-na li-it eqli ša* m*ir-ru-uš-sa*(*?*) 6*a-na* f*tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* 7*at-ta-din-mi ù a-na ma-ru-ti* 8*e-te-pu-uš-mi* 9*šum-ma eqlu pa-qí-r*[*a-na i*]*-ra-aš-ši* 10*ù a-na-ku-ma ú-za-ak-kà* 11*i-na u$_4$-mi an-ni-im* m*na-i-še-ri* 12*aš-šum 1 imēr eqlātimeš i-na arki* 13 f*tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* 14*la i-ša-as-sí*

15*qāt* d*nabū-ilu* (dAk. Dingir-ra) *tupšarri*

(Rev.) 16*kunuk* m*tar-mi-te-šup mār eḫ-li-te-šup* 17*kunuk* m*te-ḫi-ip-til-la mār pu-ḫi-še-en-ni* 18*kunuk* m*tar-mi-ia mār ú-nap-ta-e*

18 (SMN 2044)

1*tup-pí ma-ru-ti ša* 2 f*tu-ul-pu-na-a-a* 3*mārat še-el-tu-na-a-a* 4*ù* m*ḫu-ur-bi-še-en-ni mār ḫa-ši-ia* 5*a-na ma-ru-ti i-pu-uš* 6*1 ma-la* Giš*awiḫari* Giš*kirā i-na* Uru*te-im-te-na-aš* 7*i-na* [*l*]*i-it* Giš*kirī ša ḫa-bur-ši mār pu-ḫi-še-en-ni* 8*a-na* f*tu-ul-pu-na-a-a id-di-in* 9*a-na marūtimeš* (Tur.Meš) *itepušmeš* (Kak.Meš) *šum-ma* Giš*kirū pa-qí-ra-na* 10*ir-ta-ši* Giš*kirā ša-šu-ma ú-za-ak-kà* 11*ša ibalkatu tutu$_4$ 1* Ma.Na *kaspa 1* Ma.Na *ḫurāṣa ú-ma-al-la* 12*ù* f*tu-ul-pu-na-a-a ki-i qīšti* 13*2* Udu *1* Su *kaspa ṣa-ar-pu 1 imēr šea* 14*a-na* m*ḫu-ur-bi-še-en-ni iddin*in

15*maḫar šu-um-mi-ia mār na-i-še-ri la-mu* Giš*kirī* 16*maḫar* [*t*]*e-ḫi-ia mār a-ta-a-a* Ki.Min 17*maḫar ki-ba-ar-ra-ap-ḫi mār wa-an-di-iš-še* Ki.Min 18*maḫar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ši-il-wa-a-a* Ki.Min 19*maḫar ḫa-ma-an-na mār ar-še-ḫa-la* 20*maḫar zi*[a]*-li-ip-šar-ri* 21*mār e-ni-iš-ta-e* 21*maḫar še-na-aq-qa mār e-na-ma-ti* (Rev.) 23*maḫar ar-te-ia mār e-ni-ia* 24*maḫar ak-ku-li-en-ni mār ip-šá-ḫa-lu* 25*maḫar* d*nabū-na-ṣir tupšarru* 26*an-nu-tum awēlūtimeš li-mu-ú* 27 m*ḫu-ur-bi-*

[a] The tablet has *GI* for *zi*.

še-en-ni be-el ^{Giš}*kirī kunuk* ^{28} ^{m}*zi*[a]*-li-ip-šar-ri ši-bi kunuk* ^{29}*kunuk tupšarri* (Edge) ^{30}*kunuk* ^{m}*ar-te-ia šum-ma* ^{31} ^{m}*ḫu-ur-bi-še-en-ni ibalkat* (Ki.Bal^{at}) ^{32}*1* Ma.Na *kaspa 1* Ma.Na *ḫurāṣa* ^{33}*ú-ma-al-la*

19 (SMN 2254)

^{1}*li-ša-an-šu ša* ^{m}[*ir-wi-šarri mār ṭā*]*b-šarri* ^{2}*a-na pa-ni ḫal-zu-uḫ-li-e* ^{3}*ki-a-am iq-ta-a-bi* ^{4} ^{f}*du-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* [^{m}*ir*]*-wi-šarri* ^{5}*a-na ma-ru-ti i-pu-uz-zu* ^{6}*ma-la ku-ma-ni* ^{Giš}*kirā ina* [^{Uru}*t*]*e-im-te-na-aš* ^{7}*a-šar* ^{Giš}*kirī ša* ^{m}*wa-an-.... id-di-in* ^{8}*a-na* ^{f}*du-ul-pu-na-a-*[*a addin*] ^{9}*ù 2* Udu *8* Ma.Na *erā*^{meš}*.....-ia-ri* ^{10}*a-na ia-ši i-di-na ....* ^{11}*šum-ma* ^{Giš}*kirū pa-qí-ra-na* [*i-ra-aš-ši*] ^{12}(erasure) *i-.... [ú-za-ak-kà]* (*?*) [*a-na* ^{f}*du-ul-pu-na*]*-a-a inandinu*^{nu} ^{13}*ù .....** ^{14}*iš-tu*$_4$ *u*$_4$*-mi an-*[*ni-i*] ^{15}(erased) ^{16} ^{f}*du-ul-pu-n*[*a-a-a*] ^{17}*la i-za-as-sí* ^{18}*qāt* ^{m}*it-ḫa-b*[*i-ḫi*] ^{19}*tupšarri*

(Rev.) ^{20}*kunuk* ^{m}*tar-mi-te-šup* ^{21}*kunuk* ^{m}*te-ḫi-ip-til-la* ^{22}*kunuk* ^{m}*tar-mi-ia*

20 (SMN 2035)

^{1}*eqlāti*^{meš} *ša* ^{m}*te-en-te-ia* ^{2} ^{Giš}*kirā ša e-li-na ša li-it* ^{Giš}*kirī ša* ^{m}*i-na-a-bi* ^{3}*ša* ^{f}*i-a-la-am-ba ù* ^{4}*bītāti*$^{bi.a}$ *ša* ^{m}*še-en-na-a-a* ^{5}*i-na libbi* ^{Uru}*zi-iz-za eqlāti*^{meš} ^{6}*an-na-ti* ^{Giš}*kirā an-nu-um* ^{7}*ù bītāti*$^{bi.a}$ *an-na-ti a-na an-nu-ti* ^{8} ^{f}*i-a-la-am-ba a-na ma-ru-ti* ^{9}*ip-še-it ù i-na-an-na* ^{10} ^{f}*i-a-la-am-ba a-na* ^{11} ^{f}*tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a ittadin*^{in}

^{12}*maḫar šu-ur-te-šup mār na-ni-ia* ^{13}*maḫar dup-ki-ia mār en-na-mil-ki* ^{14}*maḫar še-el-wi-ia mār gi-li-ip-šarri* ^{15}*maḫar nu-ša-a-a mār a-da-a-a* ^{16}*maḫar wa-an-ti-ia mār ar-šarri* ^{17}*maḫar tu-ul-bi-še-en-ni mār i-na-a-bi* ^{18}*maḫar a-ḫu-ia mār dup-ki-ia* ^{19}*maḫar qa-ni mār ta-ḫa-ar* ^{20}*maḫar ki-iz-zu mār a-ru-ma-ri* (Rev.) ^{21}*maḫar ú-ut-ti-*[*z*]*a mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* ^{22}*maḫar tu-ra-ri tupšarri*

^{23}*kunuk* ^{f}*i-a-la-am-ba* ^{24}*kunuk* ^{m}*šu-ur-te-šup* ^{25}*kunuk* ^{m}*dup-ki-ia* ^{26}*kunuk* ^{m}*tu-ul-bi-še-en-ni* (Edge) ^{27}*kunuk* ^{m}*tu-ra-ri tupšarri*

21 (SMN 2206)

^{1}*tup-p*[*í m*]*a-ru-ti ša* ^{m}*ḫu-i-ba-pu mār šu-ra-aq-qa* ^{2}*ù* ^{f}*túl-pu-un-na-a-a mārat še-el-du-un-na-a-a* ^{3}*a-na ma-ru-ti i-pu-uš* ^{4}*ma-la ku-ma-ni ù mi-ši-il ḫa-ra-ar-ni* ^{Giš}*kirā*^{meš} *i-na* ^{Uru}*zi-iz-za i-na e-li-en* [^{Giš}*kirī*] ^{5}*gi-gi-ru-uḫ-ḫi i-na il-ta-an* ^{Giš}*kirī ša* ^{m}*a-ḫu-ia* ^{6} ^{m}*ḫu-i-ba-a-pu ki-i-ma zitti-šú* ^{7}*a-na* ^{f}*túl-pu-un-na-a-a it-ti-na-aš-šu* ^{8}*ù* ^{f}*túl-pu-un-na-a-a 1* Gud Nita *ru-bu-ú* ^{9}*ki-i-ma qīšti-šú a-na* ^{m}*ḫu-i-ba-pu i-din* ^{10}[*šum-ma*] ^{Giš}*kirū pí-ir-ka*$_4$ *i-ra-aš-ši* ^{11}*ù* ^{Giš}*kirā an-nu-um-ma* ^{m}*ḫu-i-ba-a-pu* ^{12}[*ú*]*-za-a*[*k*]*-ka*$_4$ *a-na* ^{f}*túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-na-an-din* ^{13}[*šum-m*]*a* ^{m}*ḫu-i-ba-a-pu ibalkat*^{tu} *i-na arki*^{ki} ^{14}[^{Giš}*k*]*irī i-ša-as-sí ù* ^{Giš}*kirā an-nu-ú* ^{15} ^{f}[*túl-p*]*u-un-na-a-a ki-i-me-e ú-ka*$_4$*-al-ma ú-ka*$_4$*-al* ^{16}*ù* ^{m}*ḫu-i-ba-pu*

[a] The tablet has *GI* for *zi*.

GIŠkirā 5-šu ú-ma-al-la (erasure) 17*a-na* ᶠ*túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-na* URU*zi-iz-za-ma i-na-an-din* 18*am-ma-du ša erī ša a-bu-ul-li ša āl ilāni* 19*ù mi-in-ta-az-zu ša am-ma-ti ša erī il-te-qú-ú* 20*ù GIŠkirā* [*ú*]*-ma-a*[*n-d*]*u-ú* (the first halves of lines 19 and 20 are written over an erasure)

21*maḫar a-ki-in-*[*na*]*-ma-ri mār* [*a*]*-ri-ia* 22*maḫar el-ḫi-ip-til-la mār ma-at-te-šup* 23*maḫar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* 24*maḫar še-en-na-a-a mār a-kap-še* 25*maḫar ma-at-te-šup mār ḫi-il-bi-iš-šu-uḫ* 26*maḫar ak-ku-te-ia mār te-eš-šu-ia* 27*maḫar it-ḫi-til-la mār šúk-ra-a-pu* 28*maḫar a-ḫu-u*[*m-m*]*i-š*[*a*] *mār bi-il-la-r*[*a*] (Rev.) 29*maḫar ša-ar-*[*te-ia*] *mār pu-ḫi-še-en-ni* 30*maḫar ki-be-ir-ru* (sic) *mār a-qa-a-a* (the line is written over an erasure) 31*maḫar ku-ur-*[*wi*]*-ri mār ú-uš-še* 32*maḫar* d*sin-i-*[*qí*]*-ša tupšarri*

33*aban* m*a-kap-še-en-ni* 34*aban* m*a-ki-i*[*n-n*]*a-ma-r*[*i*] 35*aban* m*ak-ku-*[*te*]*-ia* 36*aban* m*el-ḫi-ip-til-la* 37[*aban* m*ša-ar*]*-te-ia* 38[*aban* m*še-e*]*n-na-a-a* 39*aban* m*it-ḫi-til-la* 40*aban* m*ma-at-te-šup* 41*aban* m*ki-be-ir-ḫa* (sic) 42*aban* m*ku-ur-wi-ri* (Left Edge) 43*aban* m d*sin-i-qí-*[*ša*] 44*aban* m*a-ḫu-um-*[*mi*]*-ša*

22 (SMN 2216)

1*tup-pí ma-ru-ti ša* m*a-*..... 2*ù* ᶠ*túl-pu-un-na-a-a mārat š*[*e-el-du-un-na-a-a a-na ma-ru-ti*] *īpuš*[a] 3 *GIŠkirā 47 ši-id-dá-šu i-na* [*e-li-en-na-ni-iš-šu*] 4*43 šēpi* (Gìr) Ki.Min-*ma i-na šu-pa-la-ni-iš-*[*šu*] 5*7 šēpi ù 2 am-ma-ti* Gíd.Du *i-na i*[*l-ta*]*-na-ni-iš-šu* 6*9 šēpi ù 2 am-ma-ti* Gíd.Du.Giš *i-na su-ta-na-ni-iš-šú* 7*an-nu-ti mi-in-ta-az-zu ša kirī* 8*i-na su-ta-an GIŠkirī ša* m*te-i*[*š*]*-*....*-*[*š*]*i*(*?*)*-ia* 9*i-na a-tab-bi ša qa-ta-ni-e* ..... 10*i-na il-ta-na-ni-iš-*[*šu-ma*] 11*mi-in-ta-az-zu ša am-*[*m*]*a-ti ša erī* 12*ša i-na abulli ša* URU*..-e-ku-ú* 13*il-te-qú-ú ù GIŠkirā* [*i*]*m-dù* a*-du* 14[m*a-.....*] *ki-i-ma zitti-šú a-na* 15[ᶠ*túl-pu-un-na-a*]*-a* [*i*]*d-din ù* 16[ᶠ*túl-pu-un-na-a-a*] *1* Su ..... (the rest of the obverse and the beginning of the reverse are lost)

(Rev.) 17[*maḫar*] ..... *mār ḫa-ši-ip-*.... 18[*maḫar ia-an-zi-ma-aš-ḫu mār*] *a-it-ta-ra* 19[*maḫar*] ..... [*mār*] *ir-mu-ša* 20[*maḫar*] ..-Tur-.. ..*-il-ru* 21[*maḫar šúk*]*-ra-a-p*[*u*] *mār ki-ni-a* 22[*maḫar a*]*-kip-du-r*[*a*] *mār e-ni-iš-ta-e* 23[*maḫar a*]*-kip-til-la mār ša-ri-iš-še* 24[*maḫar e*]*n-šúk-rum mār te-šup-ir-wi* 25[*maḫar*] *a-ri-im-ma-at-qa mār zi-li-ia* 26[*maḫar*] d*sin-i-qí-ša tupšarri an-nu-ti awēlūti*[meš] *šībūti*[meš] *ša GIŠ*[*kirā ú-še-el-wu-ú*] 27*ù a-na pa-ni-šu-nu kaspu*[meš] *na-ad-nu*

28*aban* m*a-kap-še-en-ni* 29*aban* m*ik-ki-a* 30*aban* m*ip-pa-a-*[*a*] 31[*aban* m*t*]*e-ḫi-ia* 32*aban* m*a-kip-du-ra* 33*aban* m*en-šúk-rum* LÚ.... 34*aban* m*na-ra-a-a* 35*aban* ..... 36*aban* m*šúk-ri* 37*aban* m*ar-ra-ki* (...) (Left Edge) 38[*aban* m*šúk*]*-ra-a-pu* 39*aban* m.... 40[*tup-pu i-na arki šu-du*]*-te ša-ṭì-ir* 41[*aban* m d*sin-i-qí-ša t*]*upšarri*

a The tablet has *NI* for *dù*.

23 (SMN 2016)

[1]*tup-pí mārtūti*[a] ⟨*ša*⟩ [f]*ši-ta-an-qa mārat ḫa-bíl-damqu* [2]*ù ra-ma-an-šu ù a-ḫa-az-zu* [3][m]*ḫa-na-tum mār ḫa-bíl-damqu* [4]*a-na mārtūti*[b] *a-na* [f]*túl-pu-na-a-a mārat ir-w*[*i-šar*]*ri iddin* [5]*ù* [f]*túl-pu-na-a-a* [f]*ši-ta-an-qa* [6]*a-na aš-šu-ti i-na-an-din šum-ma* [f]*túl-pu-*[*na-a-a*] [7]*na-ḫi-iš a-na wardi*[di] *i-na-an-din ù šum-ma* [8]*na-ḫi-iš a-na* [Lú]*ta-lu-uḫ-li i-na-an-din* [9]*ù šum-ma ap-pu-na-ma* [f]*túl-pu-na-a-a* [10]*na-ḫi-iš ḫa-ri-mu-ta* [f]*ši-ta-an-qa* [11]*li-pu-uš-ma ù a-dú* [f]*túl-pu-na-a-a bal-ṭu*$_4$ *lu-ša-ka*$_4$*-al* [12]*šum-ma 10 awēlūti*[meš] *mu-uz-za-šú im-tù-ut* [13]*ù 11 awēla a-na aš-šu-ti i-na-an-din* [14]*šum-ma* [f]*ši-ta-an-qa ibalkat*[c] [15]*ù ina bīt* [f]*túl-pu-na-a-a ú-uṣ-ṣí* [16]*2* Ma.Na *ḫurāṣa a-na* [f]*túl-pu-na-a-a i-na-an-din* [17]*ù šum-ma* [f]*ši-ta-an-qa a-ḫa-az-zu* [m]*ḫa-na-tum* [18]*ina bīt* [f]*túl-pu-na-a-a ú-še-iṣ-ṣí ù ri-ik-sà* Ki. Min (lines 17 and 18 were added after the tablet was finished)

[19]*maḫar tar-mi-te-šup mār ar-te-ia* [20]*maḫar dup-ki-iz-za mār ar-zi-iz-za* [21]*maḫar a-kap-še-ni mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* [22]*maḫar a-kap-še-ni mār ši-il-wa-a* [23]*maḫar ma-at-te-šup mār na-ni-ia* [24]*maḫar ta-a-ú-ki mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* [25]*maḫar ki-pa-ar-ra-áp-ḫi mār wa-an-ti-iš-še* [26]*maḫar ḫa-ši-pa-pu mār a-ri-ma-at-qa* [27]*maḫar ša-ma-ḫul mār tu-ra-ri* [28]*maḫar ma-li-ia mār na-i-še-ri* [29]*maḫar ú-na-ap-ta-e mār wa-an-ti-ia* (Rev.) [30]*maḫar kip-gi-mar mār a-qa-wi-ia* [31]*maḫar na-i-gi-mar mār a-ri-ma-at-qa* [32]*maḫar šer-ši-ia tup-šar-rum*

[33]*kunuk* [m]*ma-at-te-šup* [34]*kunuk* [m]*ta-a-ú-ki* [35]*kunuk* [m]*ki-pa-ra-áp-ḫi* [36]*kunuk* [m]*ḫa-ši-pa-pu* [37]*kunuk* [m]*dup-ki-ia* (Edge) [38]*kunuk tup-šar-rum* [39]*kunuk* [m]*ma-li-ia*

24 (SMN 2038)

[1]*tup-pí ti-te-nu* (sic) [m]*ḫa-bil-ta-an-ga* [2]*māra-šu* [m]*ḫa-na-tum a-na* [f]*tu-ul-pu-na-a-a* [3]*mārat še-el-tu*$_4$*-na-a-a a-na ti-te-nu-ti* [4]*iddin ù* [f]*tu-ul-pu-na-a-a* [5]*mārat še-el-tu*$_4$*-na-a-a 1 warda* [6]*a-na ḫa-bi-il-ta-an-gu ittadin 10 šanāti*[meš] *ú-ka*$_4$*-lu*(*m*)*-uš*[a] [7]*un-du warda a-na* [m] [f](sic)*tu-ul-pu-na-a-a* [8]*ut-te-ir-ru ù mār-šu* [m]*ḫa-na-tum i-liq-qì*

[9]*maḫar i-a-an-zi-ma-aš-ḫu mār a-it-ta-ra* [10]*maḫar pu-ḫi-še-en-ni mār ḫa-ma-an-na* [11]*maḫar a-ri-qa-ma-ri mār a-kap-še* [12]*maḫar gi-wa-ta-e mār mu-uš-te-šup* [13]*maḫar tar-mi-ia mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* [14]*maḫar ḫu-ti-ia mār te-šu*[b]*-up-ir-wa* [15]*maḫar pa-ib-bu mār ḫa-ši-i-a* [16]*maḫar še-na-a-a mār te-su-š*[*a*]*-a* [17]*maḫar ḫa-ši-ip-til-la mār ar-te-ia* [18]*maḫar ut-ḫáp-še mār a-qa-wa-til* [19]*maḫar a-ri-qa-ma-ri mār na-i-gi-mar* [20]*maḫar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ši-il-wa-a-a* [21]*maḫar šúk-ri-ia mār a-ri-ip-ú-ra-aš-š*[*e*] [22]*maḫar pu-ḫi-ia mār še-el-wi-ia* [23]*maḫar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* [24]*maḫar ta-a-a-ú-ki mār* Ki.Min [25]*maḫar* [d]*nabū-na-ṣir tupšarri*

a *Tur.Sal.Mešti.* b *Tur.Salti.* c *Ki.Balkat.*

a The tablet has DU for *uš.* b The tablet has SU for *šu.*

(Rev.) 26*kunuk ḫa-bil-ta-an-ga* 27*kunuk ta-a-a-ú-ki ši-*[*bi*] 28*kunuk a-kap-še-en-*[*ni*] *ma* ... 29*kunuk še-na-a-a ši-*[*bi*] 30*kunuk ḫu-ti-ia ši-bi* 31*kunuk a-ri-qa-ma-ri ši-bi* (Edge) 32[*kunuk*] *tupšarri*

25 (SMN 2017)

1*ṭup-pí ti-te-en-nu-ti ša* m*a-ri-lu mār* (sic) 2*a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti a-na bītāti*bi.a meš 3 f*tu-ul-pu-na-a-a mārat še-el-tu-na-a-a* 4*ra-ma-aš-šu ú-se-ri-ib-šu* 5*10 imēr šeāti*meš *1* Gudmeš (sic) *1* Udu *2* Ri Nimeš *ša šammašammu*meš 6*ù 1* Túgmeš (sic) m*a-ri-lu i-na bitāti*bi.a meš 7 f*tu-ul-pu-na-a-a il-qí ki-mu-ú* 8*kaspīmeš an-ni-i 50 sanāti*meš *i-na bītāti*bi.a meš 9 f*tu-ul-pu-na-a-a a-ši-ib i-na* Ud-*ti* 10*šanāti*meš *im-ta-lu-ú kaspēmeš ša libbi*bi *tup-pí* 11*an-ni-i a-na bītāti*bi.a meš f*tu-ul-pu-na-a-a* 12 m*a-ri-lu ú-ta-ar-ma ú i-ri-iq*

13*um-ma* m*a-ri-lu-ma a-na* m*ku-ur-pa-ri* 14*a-na ta-ki* (sic) *šarri i-di-n*[*a*]*-ni-mi ù* 15*a-na-ku-mi kaspāmeš a-šar* f*tu-ul-pu-na-a-a* 16*il-te-qí-mi ù a-na* m*ku-ur-pa-ri a-*[*di*]*-in-mi* 17*ù um-ma* m*ku-ur-pa-ri-ma ù ri-iḫ-*[*tu*] 18*kaspēmeš ša ta-di a-na* f*tu-ul-p*[*u-na-a-a*] 19*a*[*t*]*-ta-di-in-mi* m*a-ri-lu-ma* .... 20... m*iḫ-li-te-šup* 21... ..*-ri-ki* m*a-ri-lu kunuk ta-*.... 22[*šum-ma* m*ku*]*-ur-pa-ri i-ša-si 1* Ma.Na *kaspa* 23*1* Ma.Na *ḫurāṣa a-na* f*tu-ul-pu-na-a-*[*a umallā*] 24*kunuk* m*ú-ti-ia*

(Rev.) 25*maḫar* m*uš-še-en-ni mār ši-el-*.. 26*maḫar še-en-ni-ia mār te-eš-šu-*[*ia*] 27*maḫar sa-at-tu-mar-di mār e-*[*ni-iš-ta-e*] 28*maḫar ú-te-ia mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* 29*maḫar zi-li-ip-šarri mār e-ni-iš-*[*ta-e*] 30*maḫar ma-at-te-šup mār na-ni-ia* 31*maḫar a-ga-a-a mār ar-bi-ḫé* 32*maḫar ḫu-di-ia mār na-ar-bi-ili* 33*maḫar šu-ur-pa-a-a mār ṣilli-a-bi-ḫé* 34*maḫar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* 35*maḫar ki-ip-gi-bar mār a-ga-wa* 36*maḫar ša-ar-te-šup mār pu-ḫi-še-en-ni* 37*maḫar ta-i-še-en-ni mār pa-pa-a-a* 38*maḫar ḫa-ši-pa-a-pu mār a-ri-ma-at-qa* 39*maḫar še-el-li-te-šup mār ḫu-di-ia* 40*maḫar šúk-ra-a-pu mār ar-te-ia* 41*maḫar ta-a-a-ú-ki mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* 42*maḫar ḫu-i-te-šup mār ta-a-a-ú-ki* 43*maḫar* m*ti-la-am-mu tup-šar-rum*

44*kunuk* m*a-kap-še-en-ni* 45*kunuk* m*ta-a-a-ú-ki* 46*kunuk* m*še-en-ni-ia* 47*kunuk* m*zi-li-ip-šarri* 48*kunuk* m*ba-te-šup* (sic) 49*kunuk* m*šu-ru-pa-a-a*

26 (SMN 2020)

1*ṭup-pí ti-te-nu-ti ša* m*pu-ḫi-še-ni* 2*mār warad-gi-nu ù* Ní-šumeš 3*a-na ti-te-nu-ti a-na bīt* 4 f*du-ul-pu-na-a uš-te-ri-ib* 5*ù* f*du-ul-pu-na-a* 6*11 imēr šea i-na* Giš.Barmeš ti 7*ša* Ḫar.Ra *a-na ti-te-nu-ti a-na* m*pu-ḫi-še-ni id-di-in* 9*im-ma-ti-me-e 11 imēr šeāti*meš 10 m*pu-ḫi-še-ni a-na* f*du-ul-pu-na-a* 11*ú-ta-ar ù* Ní-šumeš 12*ú-še-iṣ-ṣí*

13*maḫar ki-wa-ar-ra-áp-ḫi mār wa-an-ti-iš-še* 14*maḫar tu-ra-ri mār a-kip-šarri* 15*maḫar ma-li-ia mār na-i-še-ri* 16*maḫar pu-ḫi-še-ni mār ki-pa-pu* 17*maḫar*

a-gu-še-ni mār ḫa-ip-šarri [18]*maḫar a-ri-qa-ma-ri mār a-kap-še* [19]*maḫar a-ki-ti-ir-wa mār pu-ḫi-še-ni* [20]*maḫar ḫa-aš-te-ia mār a-qa-wa-til* [21]*maḫar ut-ḫáp-še-ni* [Lú]Mušen.Dù [22]*maḫar pu-ḫi-še-ni mār ḫa-ma-an-na* [23]*maḫar a-kap-še-ni mār ši-il-wa-a* [24]*maḫar na-i-gi-mar mār a-ri-ma-at-qa* [25]*maḫar še-ir-ši-ia tup-šar-rum*
(Rev.) [26]*aban* [m]*pu-ḫi-še-ni mār warad-gi-nu* [27]*aban* [m]*ki-wa-ra-áp-ḫi mār wa-an-ti-iš-še* [28]*aban* [m]*a-ri-qa-ma-ri mār a-kap-še* [29]*aban* [m]*tu-ra-ri mār a-kip-šarri* [30]*aban* [m]*a-gu-še-ni mār ḫa-ip-šarri* [31]*aban* [m]*ḫa-aš-te-ia mār a-qa-wa-til*
(Edge) [32]*aban* [m]*a-kap-še-ni mār ši-il-wa-a* [33]*aban tup-šar-rum*

27 (SMN 2031)

[1]*tup-pí ti-te-en-nu-ti* [2] [m]*ta-e-na mār ú-qa-ri* [3] [m]*ú-qa-ri a-bu-šu a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti* [4]*a-na* [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a a-na 6 šanāti*[meš ti] *i-din* [5]*ù* [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a 1 imēr šeāti*[meš] [6]*a-na* [m]*ú-qa-ri i-din ù im-ma-ti-mi-e* [7]*6 šanāti*[meš] *i-ma-al-lu 1 imēr šeāti*[meš] [8] [m]*ú-qa-ri a-na* [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a* [9]*ú-ta-ar ù* [m]*ta-e-na māra-šu* [10]*i-li-iq-qì ù šumma i-na 1* u_4*-mi* [11]*i-na ši-ip-ri ša* [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a* [12] [m]*ta-e-na i-pa-ad-du-ur 1* Ma.Na *erā*[meš] [13]*ú-ri-ḫu-ul-šu a-na 1* u_4*-mi* [m]*ú-qa-ri* [14]*a-na* [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-na-an-din* [15]*ù* [m]*ta-e-na ipra*[meš a] *ù* [Sig]*lu-bu-ul-ta*[meš] [16] [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-na-an-ti-na-aš-šu*

[17]*maḫar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ši-il-wa-a-a* [18]*maḫar wu-ur-te-ia mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* [19]*maḫar šu-ra-a-a mār še-el-wi-ia* [20]*maḫar un-nu-ki mār nu-ša-pu* [21]*maḫar ḫa-na-a-a mār e-ni-iš-ta-e* [22]*maḫar na-i-te-šup mār ar-te-ia* [23]*maḫar qar-di-ia mār e-ni-ia* [24]*maḫar ni-ir-ḫi-til-la mār du-ra-ri* [25]*maḫar ni-ir-ḫi-til-la mār a-kip-š*[*arri*](?) [26]*maḫar a-kap-še-ni mār ḫa-ni-ku-i*[*a*] [27]*maḫar ma-li-ia mār na-i-še-r*[*i*] [28]*maḫar zi-li-ia mār pa-aq-qa* (Rev.) [29]*maḫar wa-an-na-a-a* [*mār*] *ḫa-ni-...* [30]*maḫar ki-li-ia mār ki-li-ia*

[31]*kunuk* [m]*a-kap-še-ni* [32]*mār ši-il-wa-a-a* [32]*kunuk* [m]*zi-li-ia* [34]*kunuk* [m]*na-i-te-šup* [35]*kunuk* [m]*a-kap-še-ni* [36]*kunuk* [m]*qar-di-ia* [37]*kunuk* [m]*ma-li-ia* [38]*kunuk* [m]*ḫa-na-a-a* [39]*mār e-ni-iš-ta-e* [40]*kunuk* [m]*ur-ḫi-ia tup-šar-rum* [41]*kunuk* [m]*wu-ur-te-ia*

28 (SMN 2045)

[1]*10 imēr šeāti*[meš] *ša* [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-*[*a*] [2]*mārat še-el-du-un-na-a* [3]*a-na* [m]*ta-a-a mār ar-ta-mu-zi i-din* [4]*ù* [m]*ta-a-a māra-šú* [m]*ar-ti-ir-wa* [5]*a-na 20 šanāti*[meš ti] *a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti* [6]*a-na* [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-din* [7]*e-nu-ma 20 šanāti*[meš] *im-ta-la* [8]*10 imēr šeāti*[meš] [m]*ta-a-a a-na* [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a* [9]*ú-ta-ar-ma ù māra-šú i-liq-qí* [10]*uš-tu 4 aw*[*ēlūti*[meš]] *ú-ru-ba-du* [11]*ša gi-ir-*. [d]*adad ša alāni*[meš] *ib-šu-ú* [12]*ù i-na-an-na* [*tup-p*]*a*(?) *an-na ša-ṭì-ir* [13]*tup-pu i-na arki* [*šu-d*]*u-ti* [14]*i-na pa-ni abulli ša* [Uru]*te-im-te-na ša-tì-ir*

[a] Še.Ba.Meš.

15*maḫar zi-li-ia mār ba-aq-qa* 16*maḫar wu-un-nu-ki-ia mār ki-iš-ku-bi* 17*maḫar ni-nu-a-ri mār a-kap-še-en-ni* 18*maḫar še-ša-a-a mār wu-ur-te-ia* 19*maḫar šúk-ri-ia mār ṣilli-dûri* 20[*maḫar*] *ut-ḫáp-ta-e mār ma-li-ia* 21*maḫar ar-til-la mār dup-ki-ia* 22*maḫar am-ma-aq-qa mār eḫ-li-ia* 23*maḫar na-al-du-uq-qa mār ḫa-ši-bu-gur* (Rev.) 24 *maḫar ni-ir-ḫi-til-la mār du-ra-ri* 25*maḫar* ^{d}*sin-i-qí-ša tup-šar-rum* 26*maḫar a-ri-im-ma-at-qa mār zi-li-ia*

27*aban* ^{m}*šúk-ri-ia* 28*aban* ^{m}*še-ša-a-a* 29*aban* ^{m}*ut-*[*ḫap-t*]*a-e* 30*aban* ^{m}*ni-nu-a-ri* 31*aban* ^{m}[*am*]*-ma-aq-qa* 32*aban* ^{m}*zi-li-ia* 33*aban* ^{m}*wu-un-nu-ki-ia* 34*aban na-al-d*[*uq-qa*] 35*aban* ^{m}*a-ri-im-ma-at-qa* (Edge) 36*aban* ^{m} ^{d}*s*[*in-i-qí*]*-ša tup-*[*šar*]*-rum*

29 (SMN 2118)

1*li-ša-an-šu ša* ^{m}*šúk-te-šup* (sic) ^{Lú}Uš.Bar 2*ina pa-ni a-na awēlūti*^{meš} *šībūti*^{meš} 3*iq-ta-bi a-na* ^{f}*túl-pu-un-na-a-a* 4*ti-te-en-na-ak* 5*ù ma-ḫi-iṣ pu-ti-ia ia-nu* 6*ù ra-ma-ni-ma ra-ma-ni* 7*i-na še-ir-še-ir-ri-ti* 8*i-it-ta-an-ni* 9*ù um-ma* ^{m}*šúk-te-*[*šup-ma*] (sic) 10*šum-ma* [*aš-š*]*um še-ir-*[*še-ir-r*]*i-ti* 11[... *i-na arki*]* ^{f}*túl-*[*pu-un-na-a-a*] 12*a-za-*[*az-zi*](*?*) ... 13*1* Ma.Na *kas*[*pa*] [*a-na* ^{f}]*túl-pu-*[*un-na-a-a*] 14*ú-ma-al-la*

15*maḫar tar-mi-te-šup mār ar-te-ia* 16*maḫar eḫ-li-te ša* [^{Uru}](*?*) *ša-am-ša* (...) 17*maḫar ma-at-te-šup mār ḫa-ni-qa-d*[*u*] 18*maḫar wu-ur-te-ia mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* 19*maḫar na-i-gi-mar mār a-ri-ma-at-qa* 20*maḫar ta-ù-ki mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* 21*maḫar iḫ-ḫi-ia mār* Ki.Min 22*maḫar ú-nap-ta-e mār wa-an-ti-ia* 23*maḫar wa-an-ti-ia* ^{Lú}*tamkarru* 24*ša* ^{Uru}*ú-lam-me* 25*maḫar še-ḫé-el-tešup mār ḫu-di-ia* 26*maḫar na-i-te-šup mār ar-te-ia* 27*maḫar a-qa-a-a mār ar-bi-ḫé* (Rev.) 28*maḫar te-ḫi-ip-šarri mār ti-še-ḫi* 29*maḫar šum-mi-še-en-ni mār ḫu-di-bu-gur* 30*maḫar ur-ḫi-ia tup-šar-rum* 31*maḫar a-kap-še-ni mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* 32*maḫar ut-ḫáp-še mār a-qa-wa-til*

33*kunuk* ^{m}*še-ḫé-el-te-šup mār ḫu-di-ia* 34*kunuk ma-at-te-šup* .... 35*kunuk* ^{m}*wa-an-ti-ia* ^{Lú}*tamkarru* 36*kunuk* ^{m}*na-i-te-šup* [*mār a*]*r-te-ia* (Edge) 37*kunuk* ^{m}*te-ḫi-ip-šarri* 38*maḫar* (sic) *ri-mu-šarri mār iz-za-ta-bi* 39*kunuk* ^{m}*wu-ur-te-ia*

30 (SMN 2119)

1*tup-pi mārtuti*^{ti} *ù gal-lu-ti* 2*ša* ^{f}*ḫa-ši-im-ma-at-qa* 3 ^{f}*ki-sa-a-a mārat-zu ša* ^{f}*ḫa-ši-ma-at-qa* 4*ù EN-šu ù li-ša-an-šú* ^{f}*ki-sa-a-a* 5*a-na mārtuti*^{ti} *ù gal-lu-ti* 6*a-na* ^{f}*tul-pu-na-a-a mārat še-el-tu*$_4$*-na-a-a i-din-ši* 7*ù* ^{f}*tul-pu-na-a-a a-šar ḫa-a-te-e a-šar wardūti*^{meš}*-šu* 8 ^{f}*ki-sa-a-a a-na aš-*[*šu-d*]*i i-na-din-ši* 9*1 mut* [a]*-za* Ba. Ú[š^{meš}] *a-n*[*a ša*]*-a-ni awēli* [*inamdi*]*n* 10*ša-a-nu awēlu* Ba.Úš[^{meš}] *a-na ša-aš-ši awēli inamdin* 11*ša-a*[*š-š*]*u aw*[*ēlu* B]a.Ú[š]^{meš} *ù a-na ri-e-be awēli inamdin* 12*ri-e-bu awēlu* Ba.Ú[š]^{meš} *ù ur-ka*$_4$*-az-zu* 13..*ša*(*?*) ^{f}*k*[*i*]*-sa-a-a ša* ^{f}*tul-pu-na-*

[a] Dam.

a-a-ma [14]*ù a-dì-i* [f]*ki-sa-a-a bal-ṭu*$_4$ [15]*ù iš-tu*$_4$ *bīti ša* [f][*tul-p*]*u-na-a-a la ú-uṣ-*[*ṣí*] [16]*ù kaspu*[meš] *ša* [f*k*]*i-sa-a-a qa-me-ir* [*ù ?* f]*ki-sa-a-a ša ki-i* DAM(*?*)[meš] *ša* f*Tul-pu-na-a-a umallā*(*?*) [17]*šum-ma* f*ki-s*[*a-a*]*-a* Ki.Bal-*kat ù iš-tu*$_4$ [18]*bīt* f*tul-*[*pu-na*]*-a-a ú-uṣ-ṣí* [19]*1* Ma.Na [*kaspa*] [*1*] Ma.Na [*ḫurā*]*ṣa a-na* [20] f*tul-*[*pu-na*]*-a-a ú-*[*ma*]*-al-la*

[21]*maḫar* [*ta-a-a*]*-ù-ki* [*mā*]*r ḫa-ni-ku-ia* [22]*maḫar dup-ki-*[*ia*] *mār ri-mu-šarri* [23]*maḫar ut-ḫap-t*[*a*]*-e mār dup-ki-ia* [24]*maḫar še-en-na-a-a mār te-eš-šu-ia* [25]*maḫar ḫa-na-a-a mār e-ni-iš-ta-e* [26]*maḫar ṣilli-dūri mār* d*adad-mu-ši-li* [27]*maḫar šúk-ri-ia mār ki-bi-šu-uḫ-ri* [28]*maḫar wu-ur-te-ia mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* [29]*maḫar ma-at-te-šup mār ḫa-ni-qa-tum* [30]*maḫar ar-bi-ḫé mār a-ri-pu-ra-aš-še* [31]*maḫar ia-an-zi-ma-aš-ḫu mār a-it-ta-ra* [32]*maḫar ni-ir-ḫi-til-la mār du-ra-ri* [33]*maḫar ḫu-di-ia mār ḫa-ši-ia* [34]*maḫar ta-a-a mār en-ša-rum* [35]*maḫar šur-pa-a-a mār ṣilli-a-bi-ḫé* (Rev.) [36]*maḫar pu-ḫi-še-en-ni mār ḫa-ma-an-na* [37]*maḫar ú-nap-ta-e mār wa-an-ti-ia* [38]*maḫar ar-te-im-tu-e mār ma-li-ia* [39]*maḫar ut-ḫap-ta-e mār* Ki. Min [40]*maḫar ur-ḫi-ia tup-šar-rum*

[41]*kunuk* m*še-en-na-a-a* [42]*kunuk* m*šúk-ri-ia* [43]*kunuk* m*wu-ur-te-ia* [44]*kunuk* m*ma-at-te-šup* [45]*kunuk* m*ḫu-di-ia* (Edge) [46]*kunuk* m*a-ri-be-ra* [47]*kunuk* m*ur-ḫi-ia tup-šarru*

31 (SMN 2103)

[1]*lišān-šu ša* f*ki-za-a-a* [2]*a-na pa-ni awēlūti*[meš] *šībūti*[meš ti] *an-*[*nu*]*-ti* [3]*a-na* f*túl-pu-na-a-a ki-a-am iq-ta-bi* [4]*am-mi-ni a-na* m*ma-an-nu-ia ub-bu-ti* [5]*a-na aš-šu-ti ta-na-an-dá-ni-mi* [6]*a-šar* m*ma-an-nu-ia šu-la-an-ni-mi* [7]*ù a-na* m*ar-te-ia mār a-wi-iš-ki-pa* [8]*a-na aš-šu-ti i-id-na-an-ni-mi* [9]*ù lišān-šu-ma* f*ki-za-a-a* [10]*a-na* m*ar-te-ia mār a-wi-iš-ki-pa* [11]*a-na aš-šu-ti it-ta-ti-in* [12]*ù i-na bá-ab abulli*[meš] *i-na* Uru*te-im-te-na* [13]*lu šu-ti-iq ù a-wa-az-zu* [14]*ir-ta-ak-sú ki-i-m*[*e*]*-e* f*ki-za-a-a* [15]*a-na aš-*[*š*]*u-ti a-na* m*ar-*[*te*]*-ia it-ta-ad-nu*

[16]*maḫar u-na-ap-ta-e* [*mâr wa-an-ti-ia*] [17]*maḫar ta-*[*a*]*-a-u-ki* [*mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia*] [18]*maḫar še*(*?*)*-.....* (several lines lost) (Rev.) [19]*maḫar .....* [20]*maḫar zi*(*?*)*-... e-..-z*[*u*]* [21]*maḫar šu-ur-*[*pa-a-a*] *mār ṣilli-a-b*[*i-ḫé*] [22]*maḫar šèr* (*?*)*-ši-*[*ia*] *tup-šar-rum*

[23]*kunuk* m*še-na-a-a* [24]*kunuk tup-šar-rum* [25]*kunuk* m*ki-pa-ar-ra-áb-*⟨*ḫi*⟩ [26]*kunuk ú-na-áp-ta-e* [27]*kunuk* m*ta-a-ú-ki* [28]*kunuk* m*a-i-it-ta-ra* [29]*kunuk* m*ut-ḫap-ta-e* [30]*kunuk* m*qar-ti-ia* (Edge) [31]*kunuk* m*ki-bi-til-la* [32]*kunuk* m*zi-li-ia*

32 (SMN 2026)

[1]*um-ma* f*ki-sa-a-a-ma mārat a-ri-ia* [2]*aššat*[at] *ša* m*ar-te-ia amat-zu* [3]*ša* f*túl-pu-un-na-a-a* [4]*ù* m*in-zi-te-šup* (written over erasure) *māri-ia* [5]*a-na* m*ar-te-ia ú-li-du-ú* [6]*ù a-na* f*túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-din-mi* [7]*ù* f*túl-pu-un-na-a-a* [8]*sí-is-sí-ik-ta-šu*

ša [9]*ʃki-sa-a-a ib-ta-aq-šu* [10]*šum-ma ʃki-sa-a-a* Ki.Bal-*at* [11]*aš-šum* ^{m}*in-zi-te-šup i-na arki* [12]*ʃtúl-pu-un-na-a-a i-ša-as-sí* [13]*ù* ^{m}*in-zi-te-šup ʃ*[*túl-p*]*u-un-na-a-a* [14]*ki-me-e ú-ka*$_4$*-al-ma ú-ka*$_4$*-al* [15]*ù ʃki-sa-a-a 10* Sal^{meš} *nu-ul-lu-a-ú* [16]*a-na ʃtúl-pu-un-na-a-a ú-ma-al-la*

[17]*maḫar še-en-na-a-a mār še*[a]*-eš-šu-ia* [18]*maḫar ta-a-a-ú-ki maḫar a-kap-še-en-ni mārē*^{meš} *ḫa-ni-ku-ia* [19]*maḫar pu-ḫi-še-en-ni mār ḫa-ma-an-na* [20]*maḫar na-i-te-šup mār ar-te-ia* [21]*maḫar ša-ad-du-mar-ti mār e-ni-iš-ta-e* [22]*maḫar wa-an-ti-iš-še mār a-ri-ip-ú-ra-aš-še* [23]*maḫar ma-at-te-šup mār ḫi-il-bi-iš-šu-uḫ* [24]*maḫar il-ḫi-ip-til-la mār ma-at-te-šup* (Rev.) [25]*maḫar ar-te-im-du-e mār ma-li-ia* [26]*maḫar un-nu-qa mār pa-aq-qa* [27]*maḫar ia-*[*an*]*-zi-ma-aš-ḫu mār a-it-ta-ra* [28]*maḫar še-e*[*n-n*]*a-a mār a-kap-še* [29]*maḫar qar-t*[*i*]*-ia mār a-kap-še-en-ni*

[30]*aban* ^{m}[*še-en*]*-na-a-a* [31]*aban* ^{m}*še-en-na-a-a* [32]*aban* ^{m}*na-i-te-šup* [33]*aban* ^{m}*ta-a-a-ú-ki* [34]*aban* ^{m}*pu-ḫi-še-en-ni* [35]*aban* ^{m}*a-kap-še-en-ni* [36]*aban* ^{m}*qar-ti-ia* [37]*aban* ^{m}*ma-at-te-šup* [38] *aban* ^{m}*wa-an-ti-iš-še* [39]*aban* ^{m}*ša-ad-du-mar-ti* (Edge) [40]*i-na arki šu-du-ti* [41]*tup-pa an-na i-na pa-ni* [42]*abulli ša* ^{Uru}*te-im-te-na-aš* [43]*ša-ṭì-ir* [44]*aban* ^{m} ^{d}*sin-i-di-in tup-šar-rum*

33 (SMN 2019)

[1]*ʃdu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* [2]*mārat še-el-tu*$_4$*-un-na-a-a* [3]*it-ti ʃḫa-ši-im-ma-at-qa* [4]*ù it-ti ʃki-sa-a-a* [5]*ina di-ni a-na pa-ni daiānī*^{meš} [6]*i-te-lu-ú-ma ù awēlūti*^{meš} *ši-bu-ti-šu* [7]*ša ʃdu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* [8]*a-na pa-ni daiānī*^{meš} *ki-na-an-na iq-ta-bi* [9]*ù ʃḫa-ši-im-ma-at-ga* [10]*ù mārat-zu ša ʃki-sa-a-a* [11]*ù lišān-šu ʃki-sa-a-a* [12]*a-na mārtūti*[a] *ù kal-lu-ti* [13]*a-na ʃtúl-pu-un-na-a-a it-ta-ad-na-aš-šu* [14]*ù ʃtúl-pu-un-na-a-a* ^{m} *ʃki-sa-a-a* [15]*a-na aš-šu-ti i-na ḫa-aš-ḫi i-na-an-din* [16]*ù ʃdu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* [17]*ḫa-aš-ḫu-uš**-*šu a-na aš-šu-ti i-na-din-nu* [18]*ištēn mut-za imtūt* (Ba.Úš^{meš}) *a-na ša-ni awēli inamdin* [19]*ša-nu awēlu imtūt a-na ša-aš-ši awēli inamdin* [20]*ša-aš-ši awēlu imtūt a-na* [21]*ri-bi awēli inamdinu*^{nu} *i-na bīt*^{it} [22]*ša ʃdu-ul-pu-na-a-a* (Rev.) [23]*la ú-ṣí-ib* [24] ^{m}*ta-a-a-ú-ki mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia* [25] ^{m}*wu-ur-te-ia mār ḫa-nu-qa-a-a* [26] ^{m}*ut-ḫáp-ta-e mār dup-ki-ia* [27] ^{m}*še-na-a-a mār te-eš-ia-ia* (sic) [28] ^{m}*ḫa-na-a-a mār e-ni-iš-ta-e* [29] ^{m}*dup-ki-ia mār ri-mu-šarri* [30]*6 awēlūti*^{meš} *ši-bu-ti-šu a-na pa-ni* [31]*daiānī*^{meš} *im-ta-a-nu* [32]*ù daiānū*^{meš} *awēlūti*^{meš} *ma-za-du-uḫ-li* [33]*ù* ^{m}*ḫa-šu-ar it-ti ši-bu-ti-šu* [34]*a-šar ilāni*^{meš} *iš-tap-ru uš-tu*$_4$ [35]*ilāni*^{meš} *ʃḫa-ši-ma-at-qa* [36]*ù ʃki-sa-a-a i-du-ra* [37]*ina di-ni ʃtúl-pu-na-a-a il-te-e* [38]*ú ʃki-sa-a-a il-te-qì* [39]*qāt* ^{d}*šamaš-ilu-reštū*

[40]*aban* ^{m}*ni-ki-ia* [41]*aban* ^{m}*ḫé-ir-ši**-*ia* [42]*aban* ^{m}*šur-kip-šarri* (Edge) [43][*aban* ^{m}]*a-kap-še-ni* [44]*aban* ^{m}*ki-li-ia*

[a] ŠE is probably an error for *te*.
[a] Tur.Sal.tu(m)-ti.

34 (SMN 2028)

[1]*li-ša-an-šu ša* [m]*ḫa-na-a-a* [2]*mār te-en-te-ia ina pa-ni awēlūti*[meš] *šībūti*[meš] [3]*iq-ta-bi* [f]*ḫa-šu-un-na-a-a* [4] [m]*te-en-te-ia a-bu-ia* [5]*ip-pa-na-ti-im-ma a-na amtūti*[ti] (Gim-*ti*) [6]*a-na* [f]*še-el-tu*$_4$*-un-na-a-a i-din* [7]*ù i-na-an-na a-na-ku* [f]*ḫi-in-zu-ri* [8] [f]*a-su-li* [f]*pa-pa-a-a ù* [m]*a-ri-be-en-ni* [9]*4* Nam.Lú.Lú[meš] *an-nu-ti ša aš-bu-u* [10]*še-ir-ri-šu ša* [f]*ḫa-šu-un-na-a-a* [11]*ù it-ti še-ir-ri-šu-nu-ma-mi*(*?*)* [12]*a-na* [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a mārat še-el-tu*$_4$*-un-na-a-a* [13]*a-na amtūti*[meš] *ù wardūti*[meš ti] *at-ta-din* [14]*ù mi-nu-um-mi-e še-ir-ri-šu* [15]*ri-ḫu-ti ša la aš-bu ša* [f]*ḫa-šu-un-na-a-a* [16]*ù a-na* [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a-ma at-ta-ad-na-aš-šu-nu-ti* [17]*ù 5 imēr šeāti*[meš] *1 imēr ku-ni-šu 50 (qa) ki-pa-tum*[meš] [18]*1* Túg *2* Udu[meš] *ù 4 qa* Ni[meš] [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a* [19]*a-na* [m]*ḫa-na-a-a a-na ši-im* Nam.L[ú][meš] *an-nu-ti i-din šum-ma* Nam.Lú.Lú[meš] [20]*an-nu-ti ša ina tup-pi an-ni-ti pa-qí-ra-na* [21]*i-ra-aš-šu-ú* [m]*ḫa-na-a-a ú-za-ak-ka*$_4$*-ma* [22]*a-na* [f]*túl-pu-na-a-a i-na-an-din* [23]*ù š*[*um*]*-ma* Nam.Lú.Lú[meš] *an-nu-ti še-ir-ri-šu* [24][*ša* [f]*ḫ*]*a-šum-na-a-a* (erasure) [25][*iš-tu bīt*][it] [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a ú-pu* [a]*-ṣú-ú* [26][*ù* [m]*ḫa-na*]*-a-a-ma ú-za-ak-ka*$_4$*-šu-nu-ti* [27][*ù a-na*] [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a ú-ta-ar-šu-nu-ti* [28]*...* [*šum-ma* [m]*ḫa-na*]*-a-a ibalkat*[kat] *4*(*?*) Nam.Lú.Lú[meš] [29][*umallā*](*?*) [*šum-ma* [m]*ḫa-na-a-a*](*?*)[*i-na arki*][ki] [f]*túl-pu-*[*un-na-a-a*] *i-ša-as-sí* [30][*1*](*?*) *bilat kaspa ...* [31][*umall*]*ā*[la] (about 4 lines destroyed at the end of the Obv.)

(Lower Edge) [32]*maḫar pur-pa-... .... [33]maḫar ia-an-*[*zi-ma-aš-ḫu mār a-it-ta-ra*] [34]*maḫar šúk-ri-ia mār k*[*i*]*-...* (Rev.) [35]*maḫar ú-nap-ta-e mār wa-*[*an-ti-ia*] [36]*maḫar ḫa-ab-zi-la-ak-ku mār ...* [37]*maḫar a-ri-be-ra mār kap-... [38]maḫar ni-ir-ḫi-til-la mār tu-ra-r*[*i*] [39]*maḫar ut-ḫap-ta-e mār dup-ki-ia* [40]*maḫar a-qa-a-a mār ar-bi-ḫé* [41]*maḫar ḫu-di-ia mār ḫa-ši-ia* [42]*maḫar gi-wa-ta-e mār mu-*[*uš*]*-te-šup* [43]*maḫar wu-ur-te-ia mār ḫa-ni-ku* [44]*maḫar ṣilli-dūri mār* [d]*adad-mu-šal-li* [45]*maḫar šur-*[*pa-a*] *mār ṣilli-a-bi-hé* [46]*maḫar .... mār ḫa-ši-gi-mar* [47][*maḫar*] *ar-te-im-tu-e mār ma-li-ia* [48]*maḫar ta-a-a mār* En-*ša-ru* [49]*maḫar dup-ki-ia mār ri-mu-šarri* [50]*maḫar ḫa-na-a-a mār e-ni-iš-ta-e* [51]*maḫar ḫu-di-ia mār te-šup-ir-wi* [52]*maḫar* [*u*]*r-ḫi-ia tup-šar-rum* [53]*maḫar k*[*i*]*-me-il-*[*l*]*a-ta mār me-li-ia*

[54]*aban* [m]*ḫu-di-ia* [55]*aban* [m]*šúk-ri-ia* [56]*aban* [m]*še-en-na-a-a* [57]*aban* [m]*ut-ḫap-ta-e* [58]*aban* [m]*a-ri-be-ra* [59]*aban* [m]*gi-wa-ta-e* [60]*aban* [m]*wu-ur-te-ia* (Edge) [61]*aban* [m]*a*[*r-t*]*e-i*[*m*]*-du-e* [62]*aban* [m]*dup-ki-ia* [63]*aban* [m](sic) *tupšarri*

35 (SMN 2018)

[1]*li-ša-an-šu ša* [m]*ki-i*[*p*](*?*)*-...* [2]*mār wa-an-ti-iš-še* [3]*i-na pa-ni awēlūti*[meš] *šībūti*[meš ti] [*iq-ta-bi*] [4]*kaspē*[meš] *te-ḫa-am-pa-áš-*[*ḫi*] [5]*ša* [m]*a-ri-ib-e-en-ni* [6]*a-šar* [f]*túl-pu-un-na-a-a* [*el-te-qí*](*?*) [7]*ù ú-ki-im-mi-ir* [8]*iš-tu*$_4$ *i-na u*$_4$*-mi an-ni-i* (...)

[a] PU is an error for *uṣ*.

9*aš-šum kaspē*meš *te-ḫa-am-pa-á*[*š-ḫi*] 10*ša* m*a-ri-ib-e-en-n*[*i*] 11*ina arki*ki f*túl-pu-un-*[*na-a-a*] 12*la a-ša-as-sí* 13(erasure)

14*maḫar te-eš-šu-ia mār še-eš-wa-...* 15*maḫar ma-at-te-šup mār ḫa-ni-*[*qa-tum*] 16*maḫar zi-lip-šarri mār e-ni-*[*iš-ta-e*](?) 17*maḫar ši-mi-qa-ri mār nu-ur-...* 18 *maḫar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ḫa-ši-...* 19*maḫar ar-zi-iz-za mār ta-i-...* 20*maḫar gi-wa-ta-e mār mu-uš-te-*[*šup*] 21*maḫar ú-na-ap-ta-e mār en-ku-ub-...* 22*maḫar še-ḫé-el-te-šup mār ḫu-di-ia* 23*maḫar pu-ḫi-še-en-ni* 24*mār ḫa-ma-an-na* 25*maḫar na-i-gi-mar* 26*mār a-ri-ma-at-qa* (Rev.) 27*maḫar ta-ù-ki* Lú*nappāḫu* 28*maḫar ur-ḫi-ia tupšarri*

29*kunuk* mú*-nap-ta-e* 30*kunuk* m*ma-l*[*i-ia*] 31*kunuk* m*zi-*[*lip-šarri*] 32*kunuk* m*ar-*[*zi-iz-za*] (Edge) 33*kunuk* m*ur-ḫi-ia tupšarri* 34*kunuk* m*še-ḫé-el-te-šup*

36 (SMN 2063)

1*um-ma* f*..-ni-ia-ma mārat* m*na-ni-ia* 2 f*wa-ni-im-bi amti-ia* 3*a-na amtūti*ti *a-na* f*túl-pu-na-a-a at-ta-din* 4 m*šúk-ri-ia ur-ta-pa-aš* 5*ù a-na* f*túl-pu-na-a-a at-ta-din* 6*im-ma-ti-me-e* m*šúk-ri-ia* 7*i-na bīt* f*túl-pu-na-a-a ú-uṣ-ṣí* 8*ù il-te-en awēla damqa*qa 9*ša* Kur*nu-ul-lu-a-i ki-i-mu* 10*.....-ḫi-šú pu-ḫi-šu* 11[f*..-ni-ia*] *i-na-an-din* 12[*ù* m*šúk-ri-ia ú-še*]*-iṣ-ṣí* 13..... *pu-ḫi-šú* (the lower half of the Obv. and the upper half of the Rev., are lost) (Rev.) 14[*kunuk* f]*..-ni-ia mārat na-ni-ia* 15*kunuk* m*gi-lip-šarri* 16*kunuk tup-šar-rum* 17*kunuk* m*še-na-a-a* 18*kunuk* m*kip-gi-mar* (Edge) 19*kunuk* m*te-šup-ir-wi*

37 (SMN 2111)

1 m*mu-uš-te-ia mār a-ri-il-lu-um-ti* 2*ù* m*ar-bi-ḫé mār mu-uš-te-ia-ma* 3*waradzu-nu* m*du-ur-mar-*[*t*]*i* 4*a-na ši-i-me a-na* 5 f*túl-pu-un-na-a-a* 6*mārati* f*še-el-du-un-na-a-a* 7*it-ta-ad-nu ù* 8 f*túl-pu-un-na-a-a* 9*2 imēr 2/4 qā šea 1 alpa ù 1 bilat erā*meš 10*a-na* m*mu-uš-te-ia ù a-na* 11*māri-šu* m*ar-bi-ḫé* 12*it-ta-ad-na-aš-šu-nu-ti* 13*šum-ma* m*du-ur-mar-ti* 14*pa-qí-ra-na irtašī ù* 15 m*mu-uš-te-ia ù* m*ar-bi-ḫé* 16*ú-za-ak-ku-ú-ma* 17*a-na* f*túl-pu-un-na-a-a inaddinū*nu 18*ù šum-ma* m*dur-mar-ti* 19*la uz-zi-ik-ku-ú* 20*ù 2 awēlūti*meš *ša ki-i* 21 m*dur-mar-ti ib-šu* 22*ša* Kur*nu-ul-lu-a-a-i* (Rev.) 23*a-na* f*túl-pu-un-na-a-a inaddinū*nu 24*šum-ma* m*mu-uš-te-ia ù māru-šu* 25*ibalkatutum kaspa ša innadnū*nu 26*2-šu ú-ma-al-lu-ú* 27*1* Ma.Na *kaspa 1* Ma.Na *ḫurāṣa* 28*a-na* f*túl-pu-un-na-a-a ú-ma-al-lu-ú*

29*maḫar* m*ta-a-a-ú-ki mār ḫa-ni-ku* 30*maḫar* m*dup-ki-ia mār ri-mu-šarri* 31*maḫar* m*a-kap-še-ni* Lú*ma-ru-zu* 32*maḫar* m*te-šup-ir-wi mār d*[*ur*](?)*-šarri* 33*maḫar* m*a-qa-a-a mār a*[*r*]*-bi-ḫé* 34*maḫar* m*ut-ḫáp-še mār da-li-ia* 35*maḫar* m*ma-li-ia mār na-i-še-ri* 36*maḫar* m*a-i-it-ta-a-ra mār šu-uḫ-n*[*i*]*-zi*(?)*-ru* 37*maḫar* m*šur-pa-a-a mār ar-bi-ḫé* 38*maḫar* m*gi-wa-ta-e mār mu-uš-te-ia* 39*maḫar*

^{m}a-kap-še-ni mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia ^{40}maḫar ^{m}ni-ir-ḫi-til-la ^{41}mār du-ra-ri ^{42}maḫar $^{m\,d}$šamaš-ilu-reštū mār ta-a-a tup-šar-rum

^{43}kunuk ^{m}dup-ki-ia ^{44}aban ^{m}a-kap-še-ni ^{45}aban ^{m}ta-a-a-ú-[ki] (Edge) *^{46}aban ^{m}te-šup-ir-wi ^{47}aban $^{m\,d}$šamaš-ilu-reštū ^{48}aban ^{m}ma-li-ia*

38 (SMN 2033)

^{1}[^{f}du-ul-pu]-un-na-a-a ^{2}[it-ti ^{m}u]t-ḫáp-še mār qa-li-ia ^{3}[i-na di-n]i a-na pa-ni daiānī^{meš} ^{4}[i-te-l]u-ú-ma ^{5}[um-m]a ^{f}du-ul-pu-un-na-a-a-ma ^{6}[^{m}ta]-e mār a-qa-wa-til ^{7}ù [mā]ra-šu ^{m}Be-la-a-a ^{8}a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti ki-ma 1 ^{Lú}wardi ^{9}ù ki-ma 12 Udu$^{bi.a\ meš}$ *^{10}a-na ia-ši iddin-mi ^{11}[ù ar]ka^{ka_4}-nu ^{m}ta-e im-tù-ut-mi ^{12}[ù] ^{m}ut-ḫáp-še e-wu-ru-um-ma ^{13}[i]-te-pu-uš-mi*[a] *^{14}ù daiānū^{meš} ^{m}ut-ḫáp-še ^{15}[iš-t]a-lu-šu ^{m}ta-e māra-šu ^{16}[^{m}Be-la]-a-a a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti ^{17}[ki-ma 1] ^{Lú}wardi ki-ma 12* Udu^{meš} *^{18}[a-na ^{f}du-ul-p]u-un-na-a-a ^{19}[iddin]^{in}-mi ^{20}[ù um-ma ^{m}u]t-ḫáp-še-ma ^{m}ta-e* (Rev.) *^{21}[māra-šu ^{m}Be]-la-a-a a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti ^{22}[iddin^{in}]-mi ù ^{f}túl-pu-un-na-a-a ^{23}[tuppa]-šu ša ti-te-en-nu-ti-šu ša ^{m}ta-e ^{24}ul-te-li ^{25}[ù] lišān-šu ša ^{m}ut-ḫáp-še i-na di-ni ^{26}[a-na] pa-ni daiānī^{meš} iq-ta-bi ^{27}[a-na]-ku ^{m}ta-e aḫi-ia e-wu-ru-um-ma ^{28}[i]-tepu-uš-mi $^{m\,f}$túl-pu-un-na-a-a ^{29}i-na di-ni il-te-e-ma ù daiānū^{meš} ^{30} ^{m}ut-ḫáp-še ki-ma tup-pí-šu ^{31}ù ki-ma lišān-šu-ma a-na 1 ^{Lú}wardi ^{32}ù a-na 12* Udu^{meš} *ša ti-te-en-nu-ti-šu ^{33}ša ^{m}ta-e a-na ^{f}túl-pu-na-a-a ^{34}[it]-ta-du-uš ki-mi-e eqlāti^{meš}-šu bītāti^{meš}-šú ^{35}[ša](?) ^{m}ta-e ^{m}ut-ḫáp-še il-te-qì*

^{36}aban ^{m}še-en-nu-un-ni ^{37}[aban] ^{m}pu-ra-sa (Edge) *^{38}aban ^{m}....*

39 (SMN 2074)

^{1} ^{f}tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a mārat še-el-du-un-na-a-a ^{2}it-ti ^{f}za-am-mi-in-ni mārat i-la-ab-ri-ia-aš ^{3}ù it-ti ^{m}wa-an-ti-ia mār i-la-ab-ri-ia ^{4}aš-šum še-ir-ri-šu ša ^{f}za-am-mi-in-ni ^{5}ša a-na ^{m}ar-ru-um-ma wardi^{ti} ^{6}ša ^{f}tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a [l]u(?) wa-al-du ^{7}i-na di-ni a-na pa-ni daiānī^{meš} ^{8}i-te-lu-ú-ma ù um-ma ^{9} ^{f}tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a-ma ^{10}še-ir-ri-šu ša ^{f}za-am-mi-in-[ni] ^{11}a-na ^{m}ar-ru-um-ba (sic) *wardi-ia ^{12}wa-al-du-mi ù lišānē^{meš}-šu-nu ^{13}ša ^{f}za-am-mi-ni ù ša ^{14} ^{m}wa-an-ti-ia a-na pa-ni daiānī^{meš} ^{15}iq-ta-bu-ú a-an-ni-mi ^{16}a-na ^{m}ar-ru-um-ba wardi ^{17}ša ^{f}túl-pu-un-na-a-a wa-al-du-mi ^{18}i-na di-ni ^{f}tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a ^{19}il-te-e-ma ù še-ir-ri-šu ^{20}ša ^{f}za-am-mi-in-ni ^{21}[ša a-na] ^{m}ar-ru-um-[ba] [wa-a]l-du ^{22}..... r[i] el-[te-qì](?)*

^{23}.....-ši (Rev.) *^{24}..... a-na amti^{ti} ^{25}kunuk ^{m}ar-te-ia mār pu-i-ta-e ^{26}kunuk ^{m}ḫa-iš-te-šup mār pu-ḫi-še-en-ni ^{27}kunuk ^{m}šur-kip-šarri mār a-ta-a-a ^{28}kunuk ^{m}ba-a-a mār pu-i-ta-e* (Edge) *^{29}.....-še*

[a] The tablet has BU for *mi*.

40 (SMN 2145)

1 *f tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a mārat š[e-el-tu-un-na-a-a]* 2 *it-ti* m *a-mar-ša-ili* Lú *ḫa-bi-ru-ú ...* 3 *ina di-ni a-na pa-ni daiānīmeš i-te-lu-ma* 4 *ki-me-e* m *a-mar-ša-ili a-na warduti*ti 5 *a-na f tu-ul-pu-un-na-a i-ru-bu(?)* 6 *ù it-ta-bal-ka*$_4$*-ma ù a-na pa-ni* 7 *daiānīmeš i-te-li ù lišān-šu ša* 8 m *a-mar-ša-ili a-na pa-ni daiānīmeš iq-ta-bi* 9 *a-na warduti*ti *ša f tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* 10 *e-ru-um-me i-na di-ni f tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* 11 *il-te-e ù daiānūmeš a-na* m *a-mar-ša-ili* 12 *ki-ma lišān-šu a-na f tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* 13 *a-na warduti*ti *it-ta-an-nu-uš*

14 *kunuk* m *zi-li-ia mār ši-mi-qa-ri* 15 *kunuk* m *pa-a-[a]* (Rev.) 16 *kunuk* m *gi-li-ia mār pa-zi-ia* 17 *kunuk* m *tar-mi-ia mār e-en-n[a-m]a-ti* 18 *kunuk* m *pa-zi-ia* 19 *kunuk* m *e-gi-gi mār gi-li-ia* 20 *kunuk* m *ta-ḫi-riti* (Edge) 21 *qāt šumu-libši*ši *már ta-a-a tupšarri*

41 (SMN 2023)

1 *f túl-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* 2 *mārat še-el-tu*$_4$*-un-na-a-a* 3 *it-ti* m *ki-il-li mār eḫ-li-ia* 4 *ina di-ni a-na pa-ni daiānīmeš* 5 *ša* Uru *te-im-te-na i-te-lu-ma* 6 *mēmeš* (A.Meš) *pa-a-tu* Lú *ku-gal-lu* 7 *a-na f túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-din* 8 *ù* m *ki-il-li ip-ta-ta-ak-ma* 9 *ù eqlātimeš-šu iš-ta-qí-šu* 10 *ù ki-ma mēmeš pa-a-tu* 11 *ša f túl-pu-un-na-a-a il-te-qì* 12 *ù eqlātimeš-šu iš-ta-qí-šu* 13 *ù li-ša-an-šu ša* m *ki-il-li* 14 *ina pa-ni awēlūtimeš daiānīmeš iq-ta-bi* 15 *mēmeš pa-a-tu ša f túl-pu-un-na-a-a* 16 *el-te-qì-mi ù eqli-ia a-aš-qí-mi* 17 *ina di-ni f túl-pu-un-na-a-a* 18 *il-te-e-ma ù awēlūtimeš daiānūmeš* 19 *a-na 1 alpi* m *ki-il-li* 20 *a-na f túl-pu-un-na-a-a* 21 *it-ta-tu*$_4$*-uš* (erasure)

(Rev.) 22 *kunuk* m *ḫa-ši-i[a]* 23 *mār a-ar-ta-e daiāni* 23 *kunuk* m *te-eš-šu-ia mār še-eš-wa-a-a* 24 Lú *daiāni* 25 *kunuk* m *ma-at-te-šup* 26 *mār ḫa-ni-qa-tum daiāni* 27 *kunuk* m *gi-líp-šarri* 28 *mār e-ni-iš-ta-e daiāni* 29 *kunuk* m *a-kap-še-en-ni* 30 *mār ši-il-wa-a-a daiāni* (Edge) 31 *qāt* m *ur-ḫi-ia tup-šar-rum*

42 (SMN 2037)

1 *[tup]-pí ma-ar-tu*$_4$*-ti ù gal-[lu-ti]* 2 *ša f ḫa-na-te amat f túl-p[u-na]-a-a* 3 *f ḫal-pa-pu-ša mārat* 4 m *šúk-ra-pu mār ar-na-mar* 5 *ù f ḫi-ia-ri-el-li aššati*ti *ša* m *šúk-ra-pu* 6 *a-na ma-ar-tu*$_4$*-ti ù gal-lu-ti* 7 *a-na f ḫa-na-te amti ša f túl-pu-na-a-a iddinu*nu 8 *ù f ḫa-na-te a-šar ḫa-a-de*$_4$ *f ḫal-pa-pu-ša* 9 *a-na aš-šu-ti i-na-an-din a-na* Lú *wardi a-na aš-šu-ti* 10 *i-na-an-din-ši išten* Lú *mu-uz-za imtūt* (Ba.Úš.Meš) 11 *a-na ša-a-ni awēli inandin šum-ma awēlu ša-a-[nu m]u-uz-za* 12 *imtūt ù a-na ša-aš-ši awēli inandin* 13 *šum-ma ša-aš-šu* Lú *mu-uz-za imtūt* 14 *ù ur-ka*$_4$*-az-zu ša f ḫal-pa-pu-ša* 15 *ša f [ḫ]a-na-te-ma ù um-ma* m *šúk-ra-pu* 16 *ù um-ma f ḫi-ia-ri-el-li-ma* 17 *f ḫa-na-[te] iš-tu*$_4$ *sú-ú-qímeš* 18 *i-li-im-d[u]-um-ma ni-pu-uš-mi* 19 *ù f ḫal-pa-pu-ša ni-id-din-mi* 20 *ù f ḫa-na-te f ḫal-pa-pu-ša* 21 *ša ki-i mārat [a]r-ra-áb-ḫi i-p[u]-ša-aš-ši* 22 *a-na amti*ti *la ú-ta-ar-ši* 23 *šum-ma f ḫal-pa-pu-ša pa-qí-ra-na*

[24][i]-ra-aš-ši [m]šúk-ra-pu [25]ù [f]ḫi-ia-ri-el-li ú-za-ka$_4$-ma [26]a-na [f][ḫa]-na-te i-na-an-din [27]šum-ma [m]šúk-ra-pu (Rev.) [28]ù [f]ḫi-ia-ri-el-li [29]ibalkatu^{tum} ù i-na arki^{ki} [30]ša [f]ḫa-na-te aš-šum [f]ḫal-pa-pu-[ša] [31]i-ša-as-sú ù 2 amāti^{meš} [32]lu-ul-lu-a-i-tum a-na [f]ḫa-na-te [33]ú-ma-al-lu

[34]maḫar ur-ḫi-ia mār ṣilli-a-bi-ḫi [35]maḫar ḫi-il-bi-šu-uḫ mār šu-ḫu-zi-ir-ra [36]maḫar ḫa-ma-an-na [Lú]šangū [37]maḫar ut-ḫáp-še-ni [Lú]Mušen.Dù [38]maḫar a-kap-še-ni mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia [39]maḫar ḫa-ši-ip-til-la mār ar-te-ia [40]maḫar ú-uš-še mār ḫa-ši-ig-gi-mar [41]maḫar na-i-gi-mar mār a-ri-ma-at-qa [42]maḫar ak-ku-li-en-ni mār it-ḫa-pu [43]maḫar ḫa-bil-damqu^{qú} [Lú]Nu.Giš.Šar [44]maḫar šu-mu-li-ia [Lú]Sa (aškāpu) [45]maḫar ip-šá-a-a ša [Uru]an-zu-gal-lim [46]maḫar ur-ḫi-ia mār ki-li-ia tupšarru

[47]kunuk [m]a-kap-še-ni mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia [48]kunuk [m]ut-ḫáp-še-ni [Lú]Mušen.Dù [49]kunuk [m]ḫa-ma-an-na [Lú]šangū (Edge) [50]kunuk [m]ḫa-ši-ip-til-la [51]kunuk [m]ur-ḫi-ia tup-šar-rum

43 (SMN 2024)

[1][f]ḫa-na-te amat ša [f]túl-p[u-un-na]-a-a [2]it-ti [f]ḫi-a-ri-el-li [ù] šúk-ra-pu [3]i-na di-ni a-na pa-ni daiānī^{meš} [4]aš-šum [f]ḫal-pa-pu-ša [5]i-te-lu-ma ki-i-me-e [6][f]ḫi-ia-ri-el-li ù [m]šúk-ra-pu [7][f]ḫal-pa-pu-ša a-na ma-ar-tù-ti [8]a-na [f]ḫa-na-te it-ta-ad-nu [9]ù daiānū^{meš} 3-šu ma-an-za-ad-du-uḫ-la [10]iš-ta-pár-šu-nu-ti [m]qa-ri mār a-ka[p-še]-en-ni [11][m]ḫa-na-du mār ku-ut-ta-an-ni [12][m]ši-mi-qa-ri mār ni-ir-bi-ia [13]3 awēlūti^{meš} ma-an-za-ad-du-uḫ-li-e [14]ša [f]ḫa-na-te ù [f]ḫi-a-ri-el-li [15]ú-ul i-ma-an-gur a-na a-la-ki

[16]i-na di-ni [f]ḫa-na-te [17]il-te-e-ma ù daiānū^{meš} [18][f]ḫal-pa-pu-ša a-na [19][f]ḫa-na-te it-ta-ad-nu

(Rev.) [20]kunuk [m]mu-uš-te-ia [21]kunuk [m]da-an-te-a [22]kunuk [m]a-ri-ba-pu [23]kunuk [m]ma-li-ia [24]kunuk [m]pa-a-a (Edge) [25]qāt [m]amurri-ia tupšarru mār [d]šamaš-iddina ([d]Utu-Ma.An.Sum)

44 (SMN 2043)

[1]tup-pí ri-ik-sí ša [2][f]ḫa-na-te-e aš-šum [f]ḫal-pá-pu-ša [3]ri-ik-sà ir-ku-sú-ú [4]ù [f]ḫa-na-te-e mārta (sic) [5][f]ḫal-pá-pu-ša a-na aššūti^{ti} [6]a-na [m]ir-wi-ḫu-ta warad ša [7][f]túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-din

[8]maḫar ili-imitti mār ta-qa-ti [9]maḫar ar-bi-ḫé mār ṭāb-ar-ra-ap-ḫi [10]maḫar en-na-ma-ti mār ku-uš-ḫar-be (sic) [11]maḫar iddin (Sè)- [d]na-na-a mār šul-lu-me-ia [12]maḫar qa-i-te-šup mār ṭāb-ar-ra-ap-ḫi [13]maḫar da-a-a mār ta-ri-bu [14]maḫar dup-ki-ia mār mi-na-šúk [15]maḫar dup-ki-ia mār gi-li-ip-šarri [16]maḫar mu-šu-ia mār el-ḫi-ip-šarri [17]maḫar ši-in-tap-ši-ni mār Ki.Min-ma [18]maḫar a-ri-ik-ki-ia mār na-a-a [19]maḫar kip-gi-mar mār a-qa-wi-ia [20]maḫar [d]sin-i-qí-ša

tupšarri [21]*maḫar en-šúk-rum mār zi-ki-iš-tar* [22]*maḫar še-ḫa-la mār ar-šá-an-ta*
(Rev.) [23]*aban* ^{m}*ilu-imitti* [24]*aban* ^{m}*ar-bi-ḫé* [25]*aban* ^{m}*en-na-ma-ti* [a] [26]*aban* ^{m}*iddin-na-na-a-a* [27]*aban* ^{m}*mu-šu-ia* [28]*aban* ^{m}*dup-ki-ia* [29]*aban* ^{m}*en-šúk-rum* [30]*aban* ^{m}*a-ri-ik-ki-ia* [31]*aban* ^{f}*ḫa-na-te-e* (Edge) [32]*aban* ^{m}*ši-in-tap-ši-ni* [33]*aban* $^{m\,d}$*sin-i-qí-ša tupšarri*

45 (SMN 2682)

[1]*tup-pí ta-am-qù-ur-ti* [2]*ša* ^{f}*a-wi-iš-na-a-a aššat*^{at} ^{m}*ar-zi-iz-za* [3]*ù ša* ^{m}*še-eš-wa-a-a mār ar-zi-iz-za* [4]*it-ti* ^{m}*a-ri-be-en-ni wardi ša* ^{f}*túl-pu-na-a-a* [5]*i-na be-ri-šu-nu it-ta-am-qa-ru* [6]7 Udu$^{bi.a\ meš}$ *1 imēra* Sal *it-ti mu-ri-šu-ma* Sal [7]*40* Ma.Na *erā*^{meš} *an-nu-tum* ^{m}*ar-zi-iz-za* [8]*i-na bīt* ^{f}*túl-pu-na-a-a uš-te-ṣi* [9]*ù a-na* ^{m}*muš-te-šup mār šarri iddin ù ra-ma-aš-š*[*u*] [10]*i-na bīt* ^{m}*muš-te-*[*šup*] .... (the second half of the Obv. and the first half of the Rev. are lost)

(Rev.) [11]*maḫar ul-mi-iš-še-ni mār ḫu-*.... [12]*maḫar ḫur-bi-še-ni mār ḫa-na-a-a* [13]*maḫar a-kip-še-ni mār a-ar-zi* [14]*maḫar še-eḫ-li-te-šup mār ḫu-ti-ia* [15]*maḫar šer-ši-ia tup-šar-rum*

[16]*kunuk* ^{m}*a-kap-še-ni* [17]*kunuk* ^{m}*še-eḫ-li-te-šup* [18]*kunuk* ^{m}*gi-lip-šarri* [19]*kunuk* ^{m}*i-it-ta-ra* [20]*kunuk* ^{m}*ar-bi-ḫi* (Left Edge) [21]*kunuk* .... [22]*kunuk* ....

46 (SMN 588)

[1] ^{d}*adad* ^{d}*ištar* (U) *ni-nu-a-wa* [2] ^{d}*nergal* [a] [3] ^{d}*ištar ḫu-me-el-la* [4]*4 ilāni*^{meš} *an-nu-tum* [5]*ša* ^{Uru}*ḫi-il-ma-ni* [6]Ni^{meš}*-šu ša šatti*^{ti} [7]*uš-tu arḫi ḫi-a-ri* [8] ^{m}*ur-ḫi-ia* (erasure) [9] ^{Lú}*šangū* [Ni]^{meš} *il-qì* (Rev.) [10]*a-du-ú i-na* [11]*arḫi ḫi-a-ri*
[12]*aban* ^{m}*ur-ḫi-ia* ^{Lú}*šangū*

47 (SMN 491)

[1] ^{d}*ku-ur-wi-e* ^{d}*ku-mu-ur-wa* [2] $^{[d]}$*ištar* (U) *ni-nu-a-wa* ^{d}*a-ḫu-la-e* [3][*4 ilāni*]$^{ni\ me}$ *ša* ^{Uru}*a-zu-ḫi-in-ni* [4]*ù* ^{m}*ir-mu-šá* Ni^{meš} *ša il-qú-ú*

[5] ^{d}*nergal* ^{d}*ištar ḫu-me-el-la* [6] ^{d}*ištar ak-ku-ba-wa-ni-wa* [7] ^{d}*ti-ir-wa* ^{d}Utu [8]*5 ilu* (sic) *ù* ^{m}*gi-líp-šarri ša* ^{Uru}*a-zu-ḫi-in-ni* [9]Ni^{meš} *il-qú-ú*

[10] ^{d}*a-zu-i-iḫ-ḫé* ^{d}*za-ar-wa-an* [11] ^{d}*sa-ri-i-e* ^{d}*dup-ki-il-ḫé* [12] ^{d}*nergal* ^{d}*ištar ḫu-me-el-la* [13]*6 ilāni*^{meš} *ù* ^{m}*pu-i-ta-e* [14]*ša* ^{Uru}*a-qa-áš* Ni^{meš} [15]*ša il-qú-ú*

[16] ^{d}*sa-ri-i-e* [17]*ù* ^{m}*zi-gi ša* ^{Uru} [18]*a-qa-áš* Ni^{meš} *il-qú-ú*

[19] ^{d}Im *ù* [^{d}*ištar ni-nu-a*]*-wa* [20] ^{d}*ner*[*gal*] (Rev.) [21] ^{d}*ištar ḫ*[*u-me-el-la*] [22]*4 ilāni*^{meš} [*ù*] ^{m}*it-ḫi-za-ar-wa* [23]*ša* ^{Uru}*til-la* Ni^{meš} [24]*ša il-qú-ú*

[a] Ennamati and Ilu-imitti have the same seal, bearing the inscription: *ri-me-ni-/ dadad.*

[a] Nè.Iri.Gal.

25 dIm *ù* dištar *ni-nu-a-wa* 26 dnergal *ù* dištar 27*ḫu-me-el-la* 28*4 ilāni*meš *ša* Uru*ḫi-il-ma-ni* 29*ù* m*tar-mi-ia* 30 Lú*šangū* Nimeš *il-qú-ú* 31*an-nu-tum ilāni*meš *i-na arḫibi* 32*ḫi-ia-ri* Nimeš *il-qú-ú*

33*aban* m*ir-mu-šá* 34*aban* m*gi-líp-šarri* 35*aban* m*pu-i-ta-e* (Edge) 36*aban* m*it-ḫi-za-ar-wa*

48 (SMN 690)

1 d*gur-wi-e* d*ku-mu-ur-wa* 2 dištar *ni-nu-a-wa* d*a-ḫu-la-e* 3*4 ilāni*meš *an-nu-tum ša* Uru*a-zu-ḫi-in-ni* 4Nimeš*-šu-nu ša 4 ilāni*meš *an-nu-ti ša šatti*ti 5*ù* m*pa-i-te-šup* Lú*šangū iš-tu arḫibi* 6*gi-nu-ni ša* Uru*nu-zi il-qì ù a-bi-il*

7 d*nergal* dištar *ḫu-mi-el-la* 8*ša* Uru*a-zu-ḫi-in-ni* Nimeš*-šu-nu ša šatti*ti 9 m*gi-líp-šarri* Lú*šangū il-qì ù a-bil*il

10 d*ak-ku-pa-e* Ni*-šu* m*še-ḫal-te-šup* 11*ša šatti*ti *il-qì*

12 d*sa-ri-ú* Ni*-šu* m*ta-na-ni* 13*ša šatti*ti *il-qì*

14 d*dup-ki-il-ḫé* d*nergal* dištar *ḫu-me-el-la* 15Nimeš*-šu-nu ša šatti*ti m*aš-tar-te-šup* 16[*i*]*l-qì 3 ilāni*meš *an-nu-tum* 17*ša* Uru*a-qa-áš*

18 d*a-zu-*[*i-iḫ-ḫé* d]*za-ar-wa-an* 19 d*za-ri-*[*i-e*] dištar *ir-wi-in* 20 dUtu *5* [*ilāni*]meš *an-nu-tum* 21[*ša*] Uru*a-*[*zu-ḫi-i*]*n-ni* 22[Nimeš]*-šu-nu* [m*ta-na*](*?*)*-e* 23*il-qì*

(Rev.) 24*napḫar 15* [*ilāni*meš] *an-nu-tum* 25[*š*]*a ina zi-....-an-te* 26..... [Ni]meš 27[*ša šatti*]ti *uš-tu* [*arḫibi*] [*g*]*i-n*[*u*]*-ni* 28*ša* Uru*nu-zi il-te-qú-*[*ú*] 29*ù-a-bi-il a-du-*[*ú arḫibi*] 30*i-na gi-nu-ni ša* Uru*nu-zi* 31 dIm *ù* dištar *ni-nu-a-wa* 32 d*nergal* 33 dištar *ḫu-me-el-la 4 ilāni*meš 34*ša* Uru*til-la* It(u)*-ḫi-iz-za-ar-wa* 35*ù* m*nu-šá-a-pu* Nimeš *i-na* 36*šanātimeš-šu-nu il-qú-ú*

37*aban* m*še-ḫal-te-šup* 38*aban* m*iḫ-li-ia* 39*aban* m*pa-i-te-šup šangū* 40*aban* m*it-ḫi-za-ar-wa* (Left Edge) 41*aban* m*ta-na-e* 42*aban* m*aš-tar-*[*te-šup*]

49 (SMN 799)

1*2 uš-bi* Nimeš *ṭāba* 2*2 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* 3*a-na* d*til-la* 4*2 uš-bi* Nimeš *ṭāba* 5*2 ušbi* Ni *el-lu* 6*a-na* d*ištar* [*b*]*e-la-at du-ri* 7*3 uš-bi* Ni *ṭāba* 8*3 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* 9*a-na* d*ištar pu-ta-aḫ-ḫé* 10*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭāba* 11*1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* 12*a-na* dIm (Rev.) 13*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭāba* 14*1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* 15*a-na* d*ištar ni-nu-a-wa* 16*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭāba* 17*1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* 18*a-na bēl ú-lam-me* 19*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭāba 1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* 20*a-na aš-šá-az-zu* 21*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭāba 1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* 22*a-na* d*nergal* (Iri.Nè.Gal) (sic) 23*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭāba 1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* 24*a-na* d*ištar ḫu-me-el-la* 25*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭāba 1 uš-bi* Ni (sic) 26*a-na* d*zi-i-*Bit*-e* 27*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭāba 1 uš-bi* Ni (sic) 28*a-na aš-šá-az-zu* (Left Edge) 29*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭāba 1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* 30*a-na* d*ištar al-la-i-wa-aš-wa* 31*4 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu i-na ēkallim*lim 32*an-nu-tum* Nimeš *ša* Uru*ú-lam-me*

50 (SMN 2153 + 2154)

(Top destroyed) [1].... *a-na* ^{d}*ištar ni-nu-a-wa* [2].... *a-na* ^{d}*za-ri-*[*i*]*-e* [3].... [*el*]*-lu* [4].... *ṭābu* [5].... *a-na* ^{d}*ištar ḫu-me-el-la* [6].... *el-lu* [7].... *el-lu* (Several lines destroyed) [8].... ^{d}*ti-ir-wa* [9][. *uš-bi*] Ni *el-lu a-na* ^{d}*sa-ri-e* .... [10]*2* [*ilāni*^{meš} *rabūti an-ni*]*-i i-na uš-bi rābī*(*?*) Ki.Min [11]*napḫar* .. [*ilāni*^{meš} *an*]*-ni-i ša* ^{Uru}*a-zu-ḫi-in-ni* [12]*7 a.ta.an* Ni^{pl} *i-na šatti*^{ti} Ki.Min [13]*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭābu 1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* [14]*a-na* ^{d}*ištar dup-ki-il-hé 1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭābu* [15]*1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu a-na* ^{d}*sa-ri-e* [16]*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭābu 1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* [17]*a-na* ^{d}*nergal 1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭābu* [18]*1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu a-na* ^{d}*ištar ḫu-me-el-la* [19]*4 ilāni*^{meš} *rabūti an-ni-i ša* ^{Uru}*a-qa-áš* [20]*4*(*?*) *a.ta.an* Ni^{meš} *ina šatti*^{ti} Ki.Min [21]*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭābi 1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu a-na* ^{d}*adad* [22]*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭābu 1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu a-na* ^{d}*ištar ni-nu-a-wa* [23]*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭābu 1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* [24]*a-na* ^{d}*nergal 1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭābu* [25]*1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu a-na* ^{d}*ištar ḫu-me-el-la* [26]*ša* ^{Uru}*til-la 4 a.ta.an* Ni^{pl} [27]*i-na uš-bi* [*rābī*] Ki.Min [28]*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭābu 1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* [29]*a-na* ^{d}*nergal 1 uš-bi* [30][Ni *ṭābu*] *1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* [31][*a*]*-na* ^{d}[*ištar ḫu*]*-me-el-la* [32][*2*] *ilāni*^{meš} *ša* ^{Uru}[*e*]*-zi-ra* [33][*i-na u*]*š-bi rābī 4 a.ta.an* Ni^{pl} *i-na šatti*^{ti} Ki.Min [34][*1 uš*]*-bi* Ni *ṭābu 1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu a-na* ^{d}*adad* [35]*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭābu 1 uš-bi* Ni [*el-lu*] [36]*a-na* ^{d}*ištar ni-nu-a-wa 1 uš-bi* Ni [*ṭābu*] [37]*1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu a-na* ^{d}*nergal* [38]*1 uš-bi* Ni *ṭābu 1 uš-bi* Ni *el-lu* [39]*a-na* ^{d}*ištar ḫu-me-el-la 4 ilāni*^{meš} *an-ni-i* [40]*ša* ^{Uru}*ḫi-il-ma-ni* [*4*(*?*) *a.ta.an*] Ni^{meš} [41]*i-na uš-bi rābī i-na* [*šatti*]^{ti} Ki.Min (Rest destroyed)

51 (SMN 553)

[1]*ša-du-du an-nu-ú* [2]*ša awēlūti*^{meš} *warad ēkallim*^{lim} [3]*ù ša* [*ni*]*-iš bīti ša ēkallim*^{lim} [4]*la-be-ru-*[*um*]*-ma* [5]*um-ma* [*šarru*]*-ma ma-am-ma* [6] ^{Lú}*warad ēkallim*^{lim} *ù* [7]*ni-iš bīti ša ēkallim*^{lim} [8]*mārat-zu a-na e-ku-ti* [9]*ù a-na ḫa-ri-mu-ti* [10]*bá-lu šarri la ú-ša-al-la-ak* [11]*ma-an-nu-um-me-*[*e*] ^{Lú}*warad ēkallim*^{lim} [12]*mārat-zu a-na e-*[*ku*]*-ti* [13]*ù a-na ḫa-ri-mu-ti* [14]*bá-lu šarri uš-te-li-*[*i*]*k-šu* [15]*mārat-zu a-na e-ku-ti* [16]*ù a-na ḫa-ri-mu-ti* [17]*i-ki*[a]*-ša-aš-še a-na ēkallim*^{lim} [18]*i-liq-qú-ú ù mārat-zu* [19]*ša-nu-ú a-na li-iq-ti* [20]*a-na ēkallim*^{lim} *ki-i-ma* [21]*i-liq-qú-ú ù* [22]*i-liq-qú-ú ù* (Rev.) [23]*šu-ú ka-az-za-*Ur*-na* [24]*iš-tu muḫḫi*^{bi}*-šu* [25]*i-ip-pu-ša-aš-šu* [26]*ù tup-pu an-nu-ú* [27]*i-na 3 šanāti*^{meš} *ù i-na* [28]*4 šanāti*^{meš} *a-na pa-ni-šu-nu* [29]*i-ša-as-sú-ú* [30]*a-na la ma-š*[*e*]*-e*

[31]*aban* ^{m}*ḫé-el-ti-ba-pu* [32]*aban* ^{m}*qar-ti-be-ir-wi*

52 (SMN 7)

[1]*um-ma* ^{m}*ḫa-ni-zu-ma* [2]*warad ša* ^{f}*ú-uz-na* [3] ^{f}*ḫa-ši-il-lu mārti-ia* [4]*a-na ma-ar-ti a-na* [5] ^{f}*ú-uz-na aššati ša* ^{m}*en-na-ma-ti* [6]*it-ta-din ù* ^{f}*ú-uz-na* [7]*2 imēr 1* (*pi*) *10* (*qa*) *šeu 1* Túg *ki-ma* [8]*kaspi ša* ^{f}*ḫa-ši-il-lu* [9]*a-na* ^{m}*ḫa-ni-zu iddinu*^{nu} [10]*šum-ma*

[a] The text has *Lu*.

ʃḫa-ši-il-lu [11]*pá-qí-ra-na irtašīši* [12] *ᵐḫa-ni-zu ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma* [13]*a-na ʃú-uz-na i-na-an-din* [14]*ù ʃú-uz-na* [15] *ʃḫa-ši-il-lu* [16]*a-na amtūtiᵗⁱ la ippušᵘš* [17]*šum-ma ʃḫa-ši-il-lu* [18]*bi-ra-an-ku-um-ma ippušᵘš* [19] *ᵐḫa-ni-zu ʃḫa-ši-il-lu* [20]*ú-ba-aḫ-ḫa-ma* [21]*ú-ba-la-ma a-na* [22] *ʃú-uz-na i-na-an-din* (Rev.) [23]*šum-ma ᵐḫa-ni-zu* [24] *ʃḫa-ši-il-lu* [25]*la ú-za-ak-*[*k*]*a₄ ù la ú-ba-aḫ-ḫé* [26]*a-na ʃú-uz-na la i-na-an-din* [27]*ù ʃú-uz-na* [28]*ēnēᵐᵉš-šu ša ᵐḫa-ni-zu* [29]*i-na-ap-pa-lu*

[30]*aban ᵐḫa-ni-zu* [31]*aban ʃú-uz-na* [32]*aban ᵐḫa-ši-ip-til-la mār ḫu-ia* (Edge) [33]*aban ᵐdu-ra-ar-te-šup* [34]*tupšarri mār i-it-ḫa-bi-ḫé*

53 (SMN 411)

[1]*um-ma awēlūtiᵐᵉš-ma* [2]*ša* ^{Uru}*an-zu-gal-lim* [3] *ʃna-na-a-a-um-mi* [4]*ki-i-me-e* [5]*mārat ḫa-na-a-a ù* [6]*ni-nu ni-te-mi ù* [7]*arka(t)-zu ù wa-la-az-zu* [8]*la ni-te-ma*

[9]*aban ᵐpu-i-ta-e* (Rev. and Edges uninscribed)

54 (SMN 1009)

[1]*lišān-šu ša ʃku-ni-a-šu* [2]*mārat ḫu-ut-te-šup a-na pa-ni* [3]*ši-bu-ti an-nu-tum* [4]*ki-na-an-na iq-ta-bi* [5]*i-na pa-na-ni-im-ma ᵐa-qa-am-mu-u*[*š*]*-ni* [6]*a-na aš-šu-ti iddin ù 40* Su^{meš} *kaspi-ia* [7]*a-šar mu-ti-ia il-te-qú-ú* [8]*ù i-na-an-na ᵐa-qa-am-mu-uš-ni* [9]*ù mu-ti-ia im-tù-ut-mi* [10]*ù i-na-an-na a-na-ku* [11] *ᵐa-ki-ia mār ḫu-ut-te-šub a-ḫa-ti-ia* [12]*i-na sú-qí iṣ-ṣa-bat-mi* [13]*a-na a-ḫa-du-ti a-na ia-ši* [14]*i-te-pu-uš-mi* [15]*a-na aš-šu-ti i-na-an-din* [16]*10* Su *kaspiᵐᵉš šu-ra-am-ba-aš-ḫi-šu* [17]*a-šar* ^{Lú}*mu-ti-ia* [18]*i-liq-qì* [19]*ma-an-nu-um-me-e i-na* [20]*be-ri-šu-nu ibalkatuᵗᵘ* (Rev.) [21]*1* Ma.Na *ḫurāṣa umallā* [22]*tup-pi i-na bá-ab a-bu-ul-li rabī* [23]*ša* ^{Uru}*nu-zi ša-ṭi-ir* [24]*qāt ᵐte-šup-*[*ni*]*-ra-ri mār ki-el-ni-ia*

[25]*aban ʃku-ni-a-šu* [26]*aban u-na-ap-te-šup mār ḫu-ti-ir-wa* [27]*aban pu-ḫi-še-en-ni mār ḫa-i-ip-šarri* [28]*aban ....-a-ᵈištar* (Edge) [29]*aban a-ri-lu mār ú-na-ap-te(?)-šup(?)* [30]*aban tupšarri*

55 (SMN 768)

[1][*tup*]*-pí ri-ik-sí ša ᵐzi-li-ik-ku-šu* [2][*mār ᵐ*]*a-ḫu-ia ù ša ᵐšúk-ri-te-šup mār dur-še-en-ni* [3][*i-n*]*a be-ri-šu-nu ri-ik-sà ir-ku-sú* [4]*ù ᵐšúk-ri-te-šup a-ḫa-az-zu* [5] *ʃḫa-lu-ia a-na aššutiᵗⁱ a-na ᵐzi-li-ik-ku-šu ittadinᵈⁱⁿ* [6]*ù ᵐzi-li-ik-ku-šu 30* Su *kaspaᵐᵉš ḫa-ša-ḫu-še-en-nu* [7][*a*]*-na ᵐšúk-ri-te-šup i-na-an-din ù* [8][^{mš}]*úk-ri-te-šup ʃše-ḫa-li-tum mārat ḫa-lu-ia* [9]*a-na a*[*š*]*-šu-ti a-na ᵐag-ga-ta mār zi-li-ik-ku-šu* [10]*i*[*t-t*]*a-*[*din ù ᵐz*]*i-li-ik-ku-šu* [11]*20* Su *ka*[*spaᵐᵉš ḫa-ša-ḫu*]*-še-en-nu* [12]*a-na ᵐšúk-*[*ri-te-šup*] *i-na-an-din* [13]*ù 20* Su [*kaspaᵐᵉš r*]*i-iḫ-tum ša ʃše-ḫa-li-tum* [14]*a-na qa-an-*[*ni-ša*]*-ma ra-*[*ki*]*-is ù* [15]*a-na ʃše-ḫ*[*a-li*]*-tum-ma un-te-eš-ši-ir* [16]*lišān-šu ša ʃḫa-lu-ia a-na pa-ni awēlūtiᵐᵉš ši-bu-ti* [17]*ki-a-am i*[*q-t*]*a-bi*

ra-ma-an-ni-ma [18]*a-na aš-šu-ti* [*a-na*] [m]*zi-li-ik-ku-šu* [19]*i-din*[meš]*-an-*[*ni-m*]*i ù mārti-ia* [20][f]*am-ša-r*[*i-e*]*l-li a-na aš-šu-ti* [21]*a-na* [m]*šúk-ri-te-šup mār zi-li-ik-ku-šu* [22]*at-ta-din šum-ma* [f]*ḫa-lu-ia ù* [23]*šum-ma* [f]*še-ḫa-li-tum pa-qí-ra-na iraššū*[meš šu-ú] [24]*ù* [m]*šúk-ri-te-šup ú-za-ak-ka*$_4$*-šu-nu-ti* [25]*a-na* [m]*zi-li-ik-ku-šu i-na-an-din-šu-nu-ti* [26]*šum-ma* [f]*am-ša-ri-el-li pa-qí-ra-na iraššī*[meš ši] [27]*ù* [f]*ḫa-lu-ia ú-za-ak-ka*$_4$*-ma* [28]*a-na* [m]*zi-li-ik-ku-šu i-na-an-din* [29]*ù* [m]*zi-li-ik-ku-šu aššata*[ta] [30]*ša-ni-ta* [*i-n*]*a muḫḫi*[bi] [f]*ḫa-lu-ia* [31]*la i-iḫ-ḫa-az ù* (Rev.) [32][m]*zi-li-ik-ku-šu 50* S[u *kas*]*pa*[meš] [33]*an-nu-tum ša ka-bu-ú ḫ*[*a-ša*]*-ḫu-še-en-nu* [34]*ša* [f]*ḫa-lu-ia ù ša* [f][*še*]*-ḫa-li-tum* [35]*a-na 5*[ta a an] Su *kas*[*pa*][meš] *ḫa-šá-ḫu-še-en-nu* [36]*i-na* [*šatti*][ti] *ù šatti*[ti] [37]*a-na* [m][*šúk-r*]*i-te-šup i-n*[*a-a*]*n-din* [37]*a-di* [*ú*]*-ga*$_5$*-*[*am-mi-r*]*u* [38]*um-ma* [f][*ḫa*]*-lu-ia-ma* [f]*qa-an-zu-uš-šal-li* [39]*mārti-ia a-na* [m]*zi-li-ik-ku-šu-ma* [40]*a*[*t*]*-ta-la-az-zu-mi ù i-na-an-na* [41][f]*qa-an-zu-uš-šal-li a-na mārtūti*[meš ti] [42]*a-na* [m]*zi-li-ik-ku-šu-ma at-ta-din-mi* [43]*ma-an-nu-um-me-e i-na be-ri-šu-nu* [44]*ša* [*ib*]*al*[*ka*]*t*[kat] *i-na a-wa-ti ša id-bu-bu* [45]... [Ma.Na *ḫur*]*āṣa ú-ma-al-la* [46][*tup-pu ina ar*]*ki*[ki]*šu-du-ti* [47][*i-na bāb ab*]*ulli ša zi-iz-za-e* [48][*ina* [Uru]...](*?*) *šá-ṭe*$_4$*-ir*

[49][*maḫar na-ni-i*]*p-ša*[*rri*] *m*[*ār*] [*a*]*r-taš-še* (*?*) [50][*maḫar* .....]*-at mār zi-li-ia* [51][*maḫar*] ...*mār* [d]*ištar*(*?*)* *mār na-ni-ia* [52][*maḫar*] *a-ri-iḫ-ḫa-a-a mār šu-ru-uq-qa-a-a* [53]*maḫar* [*ta-a*]*-a-ni mār zi-gi* [Lú]*ma-ṣar abulli* [54][*maḫar še*]*-en-na-a-a mār še-el-wa-na-ri* [55][*maḫar*] [*du-ra-ar*]*-te-šup tup-šar-rum*

[56][*aban* [m]]...*-til-la* [57]*aban* [m]*na-ni-ip-šarri* [58][*aban* [m]][*še-en-na-a-a* (Edge) [59][*aban* [m]*a-ri-iḫ-ḫa*]*-a-a* [60]*aban tup-šar-rum* [61]*aban* [m][*ta-a*]*-a-ni* [Lú]*ma-ṣar abulli*

56 (SMN 2134)

[1][m]*tar-mi-ia mār ḫu-ia i*[*t-ti*] [2] [m]*šúk-ri-ia ù it-ti* [3] [m]*ku-la-ḫu-bi it-ti 2 aḫ*[*ī*[meš]*-šu*] [4]*mārū*[meš] *ḫu-ia-ma aš-šum amti* [f][*zu-lu-li-iš-tar*] [5]*i-na di-ni a-na pa-ni daiānī*[meš] [6]*ša* [Uru]*nu-zi i-te-lu-ma ù* [7] [m]*tar-mi-ia ki-a-am a-na pa-ni daiānī*[meš] [8]*iq-ta-bi a-bu-ia* [m]*ḫu-ia* [9]*ma-ru-uṣ-mi ù i-na* [Giš]*erši* [10]*na-al ù qa-ti a-bu-ia* [11]*za-ab-tu*$_4$ *ù ki-na-an-na a-na ia-ši* [12]*iq-ta-bi al-lu-tum mārū*[meš]*-ia rabūti*[meš] [13]*aš-ša-ta i-ta-aḫ-zu-ú-mi ù at-tá* [14]*aš-ša-ta la ta-aḫ-ḫu-uz-mi* [15]*ù* [f]*zu-lu-li-iš-tar ki-ma* [16]*aš-ša-ti-ka*$_4$ *ak-ka*$_4$*-ša at-ta-na-ak-ku* [17]*ù daiānū*[meš] *awēlūti*[meš] *ši-bu-ta* [18][*ša* [m]]*tar-mi-ia i-ri-iš*... [19][*ù* [m]*tar-mi-ia*] *awēlūti*[meš] *ši-bu-ti-šu* [20][*a-na pa-ni daiānī*[meš]] *uš-te-e-li* [21][[m].... *mār*] *ḫu-ur-ša-a-a* [22][[m].... *mār*] *ik-ki-ia* [23][[m] .... *mār*] *it-ru-ú-ša* [24][[m]....] *mār ḫa-ma-an-na* [25][*an-nu-tum ši*]*-bu-tum ša* (Rev.) [26][*mtar-mi-i*]*a a-na pa-ni daiānī*[meš] [27][*i*]*n-ta-a-nu-ú ù daiānū*[meš] [28]*a-na* [m]*šúk-ri-ia ù a-na* [29] [m]*ku-la-ḫu-bi iq-ta-bu-ú* [30]*a-li-ik-ma-mi awēlūti*[meš] *ši-bu-tum* [31]*ša* [m]*tar-mi-ia ilāni*[meš] *li-iš-ši-šu-nu-mi* [32]*a-šar ilāni*[meš] [m]*šúk-ri-ia ù* [33] [m]*ku-la-ḫu-b*[*i i*]*d-t*[*u-ru*] *ù i-na* [34]*di-ni* [m]*tar-*[*mi-ia*] [35]*il-te-ú* [*ù daiā*]*nū*[meš] [36]*amta* [f]*zu-*[*lu-li-iš*]*-tar a-na* [37] [m]*tar-mi-ia* [*id-di-nu*]*-ú*

[38]*aban* [m]..... [39]*aban* [m]*ša*(*?*)*-*.... [40]*aban* [m]*ḫu-ia* (Edge) [41]*qāt* [m]*ili-ia*

57 (SMN 2048)

[1]*lišān-šu ša* [f]*aš-t*[*a*] ... [2]*mārat* [m]*ki-iš-t*[*a*](*?*)-... [3]*a-na pa-ni šībūti*[meš ti]*-š*[*ú*](*?*) [4]*ki-a-am iq-ta-a-bi* [5]*ra-ma-n*[*i-im*]*-ma a-na* [6]*aššuti*[ti] *a-na* [m]*be-el-ta-ri* [7]*id-dì-na-an-ni-mi* [8]*a-wa-az-zu ra-ki-is* [9]*ù lu ši-ti-i-iq* [10]*ù awēlūti*[meš] *an-nu-tum ša ri-ik-sí*

[11]*maḫar ḫa-ši-ip-til-la mār šúk-ri-ia* [12]*maḫar qar-ti-be-ir-wa mār a-kap-še-ni* [13]*maḫar a-ri-ig-gi-ir-ḫé* [14]*mār a-kip-šarri* [15]*maḫar šúk-ri-ia* [16]*mār ki-bi-iš-šu-uḫ-ri* [17]*maḫar ar-te-ia* [18]*mār šu-ur-pa-a-a* (Rev.) [19]*maḫar pu-ḫi-še-en-ni* [20]*mār ḫa-ma-an-na* [21]*maḫar še-en-na-a-a* [22]*mār te-eš-šu-ia* [23]*maḫar ut-ḫáp-ta-e* [24]*mār ma-li-ia* [25]*qāt* [m]*ú-ta-an-gal* [26]*tup-šar-rum* [27]*maḫar ak-ku-li-en-ni* [28]*mār iš-ma-*[d]*adad* [29]*maḫar wu-un-nu-ki-ia* [30]*mār ki-iš-ku-bi*

[31]*aban* [m]*pu-ḫi-še-ni* [32]*aban* [m]*qar-ti-be-ir-wa* [33]*aban* [m]*ḫa-ši-ip-til-la* [34]*aban* [m]*še-en-na-a-a* (Edge) [35]*aban* [m]*šúk-ri-ia* [36]*aban* [m]*ar-*[*te-ia*] [37]*aban* [m]*wu-un-nu-ki-*[*ia*]

58 (SMN 2085)

[1]*tup-pí ma-ru-ti ša* [m]*e-ḫé-el-te-šup* [2]*mār ki-pa-a-a* [m]*ut-ḫáp-ta-e* [3]*mār ar-tu-ra a-na ma-ru-ti i-te-pu-uš* [4]*ki-ma zitti-šu iṣē*[bi.a meš] *i-na libbi*[bi] [5] [Uru]*nu-zi i-na gi-ir-ḫi 25 i-na am-ma-ti* [6]*mu-ra-ak-šu-nu 1 + 9 i-na am-ma-ti ru-bu-uz-zu* [7]*i-na su-ta-na-an iṣē*[bi.a meš] *ša* [m]*ki-iz-zi-ri* [8]*i-na il-ta-na-an iṣē*[bi.a meš] *ša* [m]*še-ḫa-al-te-šup* [9]*i-na šu-pa-al dūri*[ri] *ù i-na* [10]*e-li-en iṣē*[bi.a meš] *ša* [m]*še-ḫal-te-šup-ma* [11]*a-na* [m]*ut-ḫáp-ta-e it-ta-din ù* [12] [m]*ut-ḫáp-ta-e 40* Ma.Na *annāku*[meš] [13]*8* Udu[bi.a meš] *ki-ma qīšti-šu a-na* [m]*e-ḫé-el-te-šup* [14]*it-ta-din šum-ma iṣē*[bi.a meš] *pa-qí-ra-na* [15]*ir*[a]*-ta-šu-ú iṣē*[bi.a meš] *ša-a-šu-ma ù* [16] [m]*e-ḫé-el-te-šup ú-za-ak-ka*$_4$*-ma* [17]*a-na* [m]*ut-ḫáp-ta-e i-na-an-din šum-ma* [18]*iṣē*[bi.a meš] *mād la i-na-ak-ki-is šum-ma* [19]*iṣē*[meš] *ṣiḫir la ú-ra-at-ta il-ku* [20]*ša iṣē*[bi.a meš] [m]*e-ḫé-el-te-šup na-ši* [21]*ù* [m]*ut-ḫáp-ta-e la na-ši ù* [22] [m]*ut-ḫáp-ta-e eqlu pa-i-ḫu i-na libbi*[bi] [Uru]*nu-zi i-na gi-ir-ḫi* [23]*25 i-na am-ma-ti mu-ra-ak-šu* [24]*9 i-na am-ma-ti ru-bu-uz-zu* [25]... [m]*e-ḫé-el-te-šup mār ki-pa-a-a* [26][*a-na*](*?*) *iṣē*[bi.a meš] *i-ip-pu-uš* (written over erasure) [27]*ù* ... [*iṣē*][bi.a meš] (erasure) [28][*ù*] [m]*e-ḫe-el-te-šup* (erasure) [29][*iṣē*][bi.a meš] *ša-šú ma-aš-lu* [30].. [*i*]*p-pu-uš a-du-ú* (Rev) [31][*iṣē*][bi.a meš] *ša* [m]*e-ḫé-el-te-šup* [32]*ù* [m]*ut-ḫáp-ta-e i-ip-pu-uš* [33] [m]*e-ḫé-el-te-šup uš-tu iṣē*[bi.a meš] [34]*ša-*[*šu-nu*] *ra-ma-ni-šu la ú-uṣ-ṣí* [35]*im-ma-ti-me-e eqlu pa-i-ḫu ša-a-šu* [36]*ù* [m]*ut-ḫáp-ta-e ki-ma iṣē*[bi.a meš] [37]*ša* [m]*e-ḫé-el-te-šup* [*i-ip-pu-šu*] [38]*šu-ur-ru-um-ma* [39] [m]*e-ḫé-el-te-šup* [40]*uš-tu iṣē*[bi.a meš]*-šu ú-uṣ-ṣí* [41]*iṣē*[bi.a meš] *ša-a-šu ša* [m]*e-ḫé-el-te-šup* [42]*šu-ur-ru-um-ma ù* [m]*ut-ḫáp-ta-e* [43]*i-liq-qì ma-an-nu-um-me-e i-na* [44]*be-ri-šu-nu ibalkat*[kat] *1* Ma.Na *kaspa* [45]*1* Ma.Na *ḫurāṣa ú-ma-al-la* [46]*tup-pí i-na arki*[ki] *šu-du-ti* [47]*i-na* [Uru]*nu-zi sa-ṭì-ir*

[a] *lú* corrected to *ir*.

[48]*maḫar ak-ku-li-en-*[*ni mār ḫ*]*a-iš-te-šup* [49]*maḫar a-ú-du-... [mār] ar-ši-mi-qa* [50]*maḫar ú-na-a-a* [*mār*] *...-um(?)-ḫi* [51]*maḫar ki-in-ni mār pu-i-ta-e* [52]*maḫar ar-ši-mi-qa mār nu-pa-na-ni* [53]*maḫar na-ni-pa-pu mār ša-ar-te-šup* [54]*maḫar ša-ri-iš-še mār ar-di(?)-ḫi(?)* [55]*maḫar a-ri-ip-šarri tup-šar-rum 7 awēlūti*^{meš} [56]*ša iṣē*^{meš} *mu-šal-wu-ú* [57]*na-ti-na-nu* [58]*ša kaspi*^{meš}

[59]*aban* ^{m}(sic) *tupšarri* [60]*aban* ^{m}*ú-na-a-a* [61]*aban* ^{m}*na-ni-pa-pu* [62]*aban* ^{m}*ki-in-ni* (Edge) [63]*aban* ^{m}(sic) [64]*aban* ^{m}*a-ú-du-...* [65]*aban* ^{m}*pa-i-te-šup* [66]*aban* ^{m}*ar-ši-mi-qa*

59 (SMN 2099)

[1]*šum-ma* ^{m}*in-ni-ku ù* ^{m}*a-*[*kap-še-en-ni*] [2]*mārū-šu ša* ^{m}*ši-mi-qa-ri* [3]*ina arki eqlāti*$^{meš\ ti}$ *ù bīt*[*āti*^{meš}] [4]*ša a-bi-šu-nu* ^{m}*ši-mi-qa-ri* [5]*ina arki* ^{m}*ḫu-ia ina arki* [6]*mārī-šu-.. ša* ^{m}*ḫu-ia* [7]*ina arki* [*mā*]*r mārī-šu i-ša-sú-ú* [8]*10* Ma.Na *kaspa 10* Ma.Na *ḫurāṣa ú-ma-al-la* [9]*šum-ma* ^{m}*ḫu-ia ina arki* [*š*]*a* [10] ^{m}*en-ni-ku ù ina arki* ^{m}*a-kap-še-en-ni* [11]*i-ša-sí-ma al-ka$_4$-ni-im-m*[*i*] [12]*il-ka$_4$ ša bīti-šu* [*ù eqlāti*^{meš}*-šu*]* [13]*na-ša-tù-mi* [14]*10* Ma.Na *kaspa 10* Ma.Na *ḫurāṣa* [*umallā*] [15]*ù* ^{m}*in-ni-ku ù* ^{m}*a-ka*[*p-še-en-ni*] [16]*tup-pá an-ni-ta il-ṭù-*[*ru*] [17]*ù a-na* ^{m}*ḫu-ia iddinū*^{nu}

[18]*maḫar ḫa-am-bi-zi mār ar-š*[*a-du-ia*] [19]*maḫar a-kip-šarri mār e-gi-*[*gi*] [20]*maḫar ki-iš-te mār ku(? ki?)-a*[*r*]*(?)-...* [21]*maḫar ki-ba-al-zu-ki* [22]*mār ú-še-ri* [23][*maḫar ḫ*]*a-ma-an-na mār šu-um-mi-...* [24][*maḫar ki-ba*]*-a-a mār ip-še-en-*[*ni*]*(?)* (Rev.) [25][*maḫar še-e*]*ḫ-li-ia mār ....* [26][*maḫar ...*]*-la-ap-...* [27][*maḫar*] *en-*[*na-pa*]*-li (?)* L[ú]*...* [28][*maḫar*] *eḫ-li-pa-*[*pu*] *...* [29]*maḫar qa-lu-mu mār ša-...* [30]*maḫar ar-te-ia mār ...* [31]*maḫar tar-mi-ia mār* An-... [32]*maḫar ta-a-a mār it-ḫa-...*

[33]*kunuk ta-a-a* [34]*kunuk a-kip-šarri*^{ri} [35]*kunuk ḫa-ma-an-n*[*a*] [36]*kunuk še-eḫ-li-a* [37]*kunuk ḫa-am-bi-z*[*i*] [38]*kunuk ki-ba-a-a* (Edge) [39]*kunuk* ^{d}Ak.*Ki-la* (^{d}*Nabū-ila*)

60 (SMN 365)

[1]*tuppi d*[*i*]*-te-en-na-*[*ti*] *ša* [2] ^{m}*zi-li-ik-ku-šu* [*mār a*]*-ḫu-ia* [3]*ù ra-a-ma-aš-šu a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti* [4]*a-na 10 šanāti*$^{meš\ ti}$ *i-na bīti*^{ti} [5]*ša* ^{ú}*ú-uz-na aššat*^{at} *ša* [6] ^{m}*en-na-ma-ti uš-te-ri-ib-uš* [7]*ù* ^{ú}*ú-uz-na 35* Ma.Na *anāka*^{meš} [8]*1 imēr šea ù 1 imēr ki-bá-tum* [9]*a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti-ma a-na* [10] ^{m}*zi-lip-ku-šu-uḫ it-ta-din* [11]*e-nu-ma 10 šanāti*^{meš} *i-na bīti*^{ti} [12]*ša* ^{ú}*ú-uz-na im-ta-lu-ú* [13]*35* Ma.Na *anāka*^{meš} *1 imēr šea* [14]*ù 1 imēr ki-bá-tum kaspu*^{meš} [15]*ša pī*^{i} *tup-pí* ^{m}*zi-lip-ku-šu-uḫ* [16]*a-na* ^{ú}*uz-na utāru*^{ru} [17]*ù ra-ma-aš-šu i-na bīti*[*ti*] [18]*ša* ^{ú}*ú-uz-na ú-še-iṣ-ṣú* [19]*šum-ma šipr*^{meš}*-šu ša* ^{ú}*ú-uz-na* [20]*1 u$_4$-mi* ^{m}*zi-lip-ku-šu-uḫ* [21]*e-zi-ib 1* Ma.Na *erā*^{meš} (Rev.) [22]*ú-ri-ḫul šá i-na u$_4$-mi ù* [23]*u$_4$-mi* ^{m}*zi-lip-ku-šu-uḫ* [24]*a-na* ^{ú}*ú-uz-na umallā* [25]*um-ma* ^{m}*zi-lip-ku-šu-uḫ šum-ma a-na-ku la aš-pa-ku-mi* [26]*ù* ^{ú}*ú-uz-na mār*^{meš} *ù mārāti*^{meš} [27]*ù aššata*^{ta}*-ia i-ṣa-bat ù kaspā*^{meš} [28]*ù ú-ri-ḫul-šu a-na* ^{ú}*ú-uz-na* [29]*umallū bītu*^{bi} (sic) *ša* ^{m}*zi-ik-*

ku-šu-uḫ [30]*a-na* [m]*zi-lip-ku-šu-uḫ ma-ḫiṣ pu-ti* [31]*lišān-šu ša* [m]*zi-lip-ku-šu-uḫ a-na pa-ni* [32]*awēlūti*[meš] *ki-a-am iq-ta-bi ša pī*[i] *tup-pí* [33]*kaspā*[meš] *ašar* [ḫ]*uz-na il-qì-mi*

[34]*maḫar ḫa-ši-ip-til-la mār ḫu-ia šībi* [35]*maḫar ḫu-ti-ip-šarri mār te-eš-šu-ia* [36]*maḫar ma-li-ia mār ip-šá-ḫa-lu* [37]*maḫar šarru-*[d]*sin mār ta-qa-ra-a-a* [38]*maḫar ḫu-ti-ši-mi-qa mār ḫa-ši-ip-til-la* [39]*maḫar qa-i-te-šup mār ḫu-ta-a-a* [40]*maḫar a-ri-pu-gur mār ú-na-a-a* [41]*maḫar ip-šá-ḫa-a-lu mār ku-uz-za-ri*

[42]*aban a-ri-pu-gur* [43]*aban* [m]*ḫa-ši-ip-til-la* [44]*aban* [m]*tu-ra-ar-te-šup* (Edge) [45]*aban* [m]*zi-lip-ku-šu-uḫ* [46]*aban* [m]*ip-ša-ḫa-lu* [47]*aban* [m]*ḫu-ti-ip-šarri* [Lú]*a-bu-ul-ta-nu*

61 (SMN 2082)

Case: .... *el-ḫi-ip-ta-še-en-ni*

[1]*tup-pí di-te-en-nu-ti* [2]*ša* [m]*ur-ḫi-ia mār a-ki-til-la* [3]*ù māra-šu* [m]*el-ḫi-ip-ta-še-en-ni* [4]*a-na di-te-en-nu-ti a-na* [5]*5 šanāti*[meš] *a-na* [m]*ku-la-ḫu-bi* [6]*mār ar-te-e-a it-ta-din* [7]*ù* [m]*ku-la-ḫu-bi 40* Ma.Na *anākā*[meš] [8]*10* Ma.Na *siparra a-na di-te-en-nu-ti-im-ma* [9]*a-na* [m]*ur-ḫi-ia it-ta-din* [10]*šum-ma* [m]*el-ḫi-ip-ta-še-en-ni* [11]*pí-ir-ka*$_4$ *ir-ta-ši* [12]*ù* [m]*ur-ḫi-ia ú-za-ak-ka-ma* [13]*a-na* [m]*ku-la-ḫu-bi i-na-an-din* [14]*šum-ma* [m]*el-ḫi-ip-ta-še-en-ni* [15]*šipir-šu ša* [m]*ku-la-ḫu-bi* [16]*i-na 1 u*$_4$*-mi i-iz-zi-ib* [17]*1* Ma.Na *erā ú-ri-ḫul šá* [18]*a-na u*$_4$*-mi ù a-na u*$_4$*-mi* [19] [m]*ur-ḫi-ia a-na* [m]*ku-la-ḫu-bi* [20]*ú-ma-al-la im-ma-ti-me-e* [21]*5 šanāti*[meš] [m]*el-ḫi-ip-ta-še-en-ni* [22]*i-na bīt*[it] *ša* [m]*ku-la-ḫu-bi* [23]*im-ta-lu-ú* 40 Ma.Na *anākā*[meš] (Rev.) [24]*ù 10* Ma.Na *siparra* [25] [m]*ur-ḫi-ia a-na* [m]*ku-la-ḫu-bi* [26]*ú-ta-ar ù māra-šu* [27]*iš-tu bīt*[it] *ša* [m]*ku-la-ḫu-bi* [28]*ú-še-iṣ-ṣú-ú ma-an-nu* [29]*ša ibalkat 1 alpa damqu*[ku] [30]*ú-ma-al-la tup-pí i-na arki*[ki] [31]*šu-du-ti i-na libbi*[bi] [Uru]*nu-zi* [32]*i-na bá-ab ēkallim*[lim] *šá-ṭì-ir* [33]*šum-ma* [m]*el-ḫi-ip-ta-še-en-ni* [34]*it-ta-bi-it ù i-ḫal-li-iq ù* [35] [m]*ur-ḫi-ia ú-ma-al-la*

[36]*maḫar ku-uš-ši-a mār šúk-ri-ia* [37]*maḫar a-ki-ia mār tu-ra-ri* [38]*maḫar wa-an-ti-iš-še-en-ni mār ki-pu-gur* [39]*maḫar ul-mi-til-la mār a-ki-ia* [40]*maḫar ut-ḫáp-ta-e* [41]*mār* Igi-*a-bi* [42]*maḫar ḫa-na-a-a mār ta-e* [43]*qāt* [m]*tar-mi-te-šup tupšarri mār it-ti-šarri* [44]*maḫar ki-pa-*[*ur*]*-ḫé mār gi-ra-ar-te-šup*

[45]*aban tupšarri* [46]*aban* [m]*ur-ḫi-ia* [47]*aban* [m]*ku-uš-ši-a* [48]*aban* [m]*ki-ba-ur-ḫé* [49]*aban* [m]*ut-ḫáp-ta-e* (Edge) [50]*aban* [m]*a-ki-ia* [51]*aban* [m]*ul-mi-til-la* [52]*aban* [m]*ḫa-na-a-a* [53]*aban* [m]*wa-an-ti-iš-še-ni*

62 (SMN 2078)

[1]*tup-pi ti-te-en-nu-ti* [2]*ša* [m]*a-kip-til-la mār ki-pa-ri-ia* [3]*māra-šu* [m]*ki-in-ia* (sic) [4]*a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti a-na 5 šanāti*[meš ti] [5] [m]*a-kip-til-la a-na* [m]*ur-ḫi-ku-šu-uḫ* [6]*mār šarri it-ta-din* [7]*3 imēr ku-ni-šu*[meš] *1 imēr 50* (*sìla*) *šeāti*[meš] [8] [m]*ur-ḫi-ku-šu-uḫ a-na* [9] [m]*a-kip-til-la it-ta-din* [10]*e-nu-ma 5 šanāti*[meš] *imtalū* [11]*3 imēr ku-ni-šu*[meš] *1 imēr 50* (*sìla*) [*šeāti*[meš] [12] [m]*a-kip-til-la a-na* [m]*ur-ḫi-*[*ku*]*-šu-uḫ* [13]*ú-ta-ar māra-šu* [14] [m]*ki-in-ni-ia i-liq-q*[*i*] [15]*sum-ma šipir-šu ša* [m]*ur-ḫi-ku-*[*šu*]*-uḫ* [16]*i-na*

1 ūmi ^{m}*ki-in-ni-ia* ^{17}*e-zi-ib 1* Ma.Na *erā* ^{18}*ú-ri-ḫul-lì a-na ūmi* ^{19}*ù a-na ūmi* ^{m}*a-kip-til-la* ^{20}*a-na* ^{m}*ur-ḫi-ku-šu-uḫ* ^{21}*ú-ma-al-la lišān-šu* (Rev.) ^{22}*ša* ^{m}*a-kip-til-la a-na pa-ni* ^{23}*awēlūti*^{meš} *šībūti*^{meš} *an-nu-ti ki-am* ^{24}*iq-ta-bi 3 imēr ku-ni-šu*^{meš} ^{25}*1 imēr 50 (sìla) šeāti*^{meš} *a-šar* ^{26} ^{m}*pu-ḫi-še-en-ni mār mu-*[*ša*]*-pu* ^{27}*a-mu-mi-iḫ-ḫu-ri* ^{28}*ša* ^{m}*ur-ḫi-ku-šu-uḫ* ^{29}*el-te-qì-mi ù ap-*[*la-k*]*u-mi*

^{30}*maḫar a-kip-šarri* ^{31}*maḫar qa-a-na mārē*^{meš} *ḫa-bi-ra* ^{32}*maḫar še-ḫal-te mār a-ki-ia* ^{33}*maḫar qa-a-ni mār mu-*.... ^{34}*maḫar ḫu-ra-az-zi mār* ..... ^{35}*maḫar el-ḫi-ip-til-la tup-šar-rum* ^{36}*tup-pu ina abulli* [*ša-ṭi-i*]*r*

^{37}*aban* ^{m}*qa-a-ni* ^{38}*aban* ^{m}*a-kip-šarri* ^{39}*aban* ^{m}*a-kip-til-la* ^{40}*aban* ^{m}*qa-a-na* (Edge) ^{41}*aban* ^{m}*ḫu-ra-az-zi* ^{42}*aban* ^{m}*še-ḫal-te* ^{43}*aban* ^{m}(sic)*tup-šar-rum*

63 (SMN 2089)

^{1}*tup-pí di-te-en-nu-ti* [*ša*] ^{2} ^{m}*šúk-ri-ia mār ri-*[*mu-šarri*] ^{3} ^{m}*ar-te-eš-še mār ḫa-na-a-a* ^{4}*re-ma-an-šu a-na di-te-en-nu-ti* ^{5}*ki-mu-ú 1 wardi 3 i-na am-ma-ti ša* $^{māt\ at}$*nu-ul-lu-i* ^{6}*a-na 20 šanāti*^{meš} *i-na bīti ša* ^{m}*šúk-ri-ia* ^{7}*i-te-ru-ub im-ma-ti-me-e* ^{8}*20 šanāti*^{meš} ^{m}*ar-te-eš-še i-na* ^{9}*bīt*^{it} ^{m}*šúk-ri-ia ú-ma-al-la* ^{10}*1 warda ša* [*3*] *ina am-ma-ti ša* $^{māt\ at}$*nu-ul-lu-i damqa*^{qa} ^{11} ^{m}*ar-te-eš-še a-na* ^{m}*šúk-ri-ia* ^{12}*ú-ta-ar-ma ù ra-ma-aš-šu ú-še-iṣ-ṣi* ^{13}*šum-ma* ^{m}*ar-te-eš-še ši-pi-ir-šu* ^{14}*ša* ^{m}*šúk-ri-ia ša 1* u_4*-mi* ^{15}*e-zi-ib-*[*šu*] *1* Ma.Na *erā* ^{16}*ú-ri-ḫul*[a] .. ^{m}*ar-te-eš-še* ^{17}*a-na* ^{m}*šúk-ri-ia* [*umallā*]

(Rev.) ^{18}*maḫar zi-li-pa-pu mār ta-a-a* ^{19}*maḫar aš-tar-te-ia mār a-kip-šarri* ^{20}[*maḫar šúk-ri-te-šup mār* ^{d}Ak.Dingir.Ra ^{21}*maḫar du-ra-ri mār ši-mi-ga* ^{22}*maḫar wa-ra-te mār túl-duq-qa* ^{23}*maḫar du-ra-ri mār ḫa-lu-ut-ta* ^{24}*maḫar ar-ta-še-en-ni mār eḫ-li-ia* ^{25}*maḫar a-kap-ta-e mār a-ḫu-um-mi-šá* ^{26}*maḫar na-an-na-daḫ tup-šar-rum*

^{27}*aban du-ra-ri* ^{28}*aban wa-ra-te* ^{29}*aban a-kap-ta-e* ^{30}*aban ar-ta-še-en-ni* ^{31}*aban zi-li-pa-pu* ^{32}*aban aš-tar-te-šup* ^{33}*aban a-kap-ta-e* (Edge) ^{34}*tu*[*p-pu i-na arki*]^{ki} *šu-du-ti i-na pa-ni a-bu-ul-li* ^{35}*sa-ṭi-ir* ^{36}*kunuk du-ra-ri*

64 (SMN 910)

^{1}*lišān-šu ša* ^{m}*a-ri-ig-*[*gi*]*-ir-ḫé* ^{2}*mār ku-uš-ši-ia ša* [^{Uru}...]*-ri-iš-pa* ^{3}*a-na pa-ni* ^{Lú}*šībūti*^{meš} *an-*[*nu-tum*] ^{4}*ki-am iq-ta-bi 5* [*imēr*] *šea* ^{5}*a-šar* ^{m}*ú-nap-ta-e mār ta-a-a* ^{6}*il-te-qì ù 1 imēr eqil* ka_4*-aš-ku* ^{7}*ša* ^{m}*ú-nap-ta-e-ma uš-tu dīmti al-ta* ^{8}*a-na di-te-en-nu-ti* ^{9}*a-na* ^{m}*ú-nap-ta-e at-ta-din* ^{10}*e-nu-ma 5 imēr šea a-na* ^{11} ^{m}*ú-nap-ta-e ú-ta-ar-ma* ^{12}*ù eqla ša-šu e-liq-qì* ^{13}*šum-ma eqla* ka_4*-aš-ka*$_4$ *a-na be-li-šu ú-ma-aš-ša-ru* ^{14}*ù 5 imēr šea ša-šu a-na-ku* (erasure) ^{15}*a-na* ^{m}*ú-nap-ta-e ú-ta-ar* ^{16}*aban* ^{m}*a-ri-ig-gi-ir-ḫé-ma*

[a] The tablet has erroneously IB.

(Rev.) 17*tu*[*p-pu*] *an-nu-ú a-šar abulli* 18*ina* Uru*an-zu-gal-li ša-ṭì-ir* 19*aban* m*š*[*a*]*-du-še-en-ni šību mār tar-mi-ia* 20*aban a-ta-a-a šību mār* (sic) 21*aban ḫa-ši-ia šību mār pu-ḫi-še-en-ni* 22*aban tar-mi-til-la šību mār wa-an-ti-ia* 23*aban ip-šá-ḫa-lu šību mār* ....*-lu* 24*aban ta-ku-ia šību* 25*mār ak-ku-li-en-ni* 26*aban ta-i-qa ma-ṣar abulli* (Edge) 27*aban na-ni-ia šību* 28*mār warad-ku-bi* 29*aban ḫa-ši-ip-til-la tupšarri mār en-na-pa-li*

65 (SMN 1046)

1*tup-pí di-te-en-nu-ti* 2*ša* m*ša-ar-te-e-a mār ḫa-na-tum* 3*5 awiḫāru eqla ina ugāri* Uru*nu-zi* 4*i-na šu-pa-al eqli ša ēkallim*lim 5*i-na il-ta-na-an eqli ša* m*gi-li-ia* 6*ina e-li-en ḫarrāni ša* Uru*a-tág-gal* 7*ù i-na su-ta-na-an eqli ša* m*ku-la-ḫu-bi* 8*ša-nu-ú aš-lu ku-ma-nu eqla i-na e-li-en* 9*ḫarrāni ša dīmti pu-i ù i-na il-ta-na-an* 10*eqli ša* m*me*[a]*-iš-ma-ni napḫar 5 awiḫāru ma-la ku-ma-ni eqla ka-az-zu-um ša* m*ar-te-e-a* 11*a-na di-te-en-nu-ti a-na 6 šanāti*meš *ti* 12*a-na* m*ku-la-ḫu-bi mār šúk-ri-ia id-din* 13*ù* m*ku-la-ḫu-bi 1* Gud Nita *ša ru-bu-i damqa*ga 14*a-na* m*ša-ar-te-e-a id-din e-nu-ma* 15*6 šanāti*meš *eqli im-ta-lu-ú* 16*1* Gud Nita *damqa ša ru-bu-i* m*ša-ar-te-e-a* 17*a-na* m*ku-la-ḫu-bi ú-ta-ar-ma* 18*ù eqil-šu i-liq-qì šum-ma eqlu* 19*rabū la i-na-ak-ki-is šum-ma eqlu* 20*ṣiḫru la ú-ra-ad-dá šum-ma eqlu* 21*pí-ir-ka*4 *ir-ta-ši* m*ša-ar-te-e-a* 22*ú-za-ak-ka*4*-ma a-na* m*ku-la-ḫu-bi* 23*i-na-an-din šum-ma eqlu ma-a-a-*[*ru*] 24*ù* m*ša-ar-te-e-a la i-l*[*iq-qì*] 25*ma-an-nu ša uš-tum 6 šanāti*meš 26*ibalkatu*tu4 *1* Gud Nita *damqa*ga *ša 4* [*šanāti*meš] 27*umallā tup-pu ina arki šu-du-*[*ti*] (Rev.) 28*i-na* Uru*nu-zi ša-ṭi-i*[*r*]

29*maḫar ar-zi-iz-za mār ma-i-*... 30*maḫar še-en-ni mār a-*.... 31*maḫar ip-šá-ḫa-lu mār* ..... 32*maḫar zi-líp-til-la mār* ..... 33*maḫar ba-i-te-šup mār* ..... 34*maḫar a-ri-iq-qa-a-a* [*mār*] ..... 35*maḫar ni-ḫé-ir-til-la* (sic) *mār* ...*-na-aš-te* 36*maḫar a-ri-iq-qa-ma-ri mār* [*ar-nu*]*-zu* 37*qāt a-bi-ilu mār* dAk. Dingir.Ra *tupšarri* 38*an-nu-tum ši-bu-tum na-dì-na-nu ša alpi*

38*aban* m*ar-zi-iz-za* 39*kunuk še-en-ni* 40*aban* m*ni-ir-ḫi-til-la* 41*aban* m*ša-ar-te-e-a bēl eqli* 42*aban* m*zi-líp-til-la* (Left Edge) 43*aban* m*ip-šá-ḫa-lu* 44*aban* m*pa-i-te-šup* 45*aban* m*a-ri-qa-a-a* 46*aban* m*a-ri-qa-ma-ri*

(Upper Edge) 47Mu*tum ša tup-pí il-ṭù-ru* 48*šu-un-tum* Giš*a-šu-ḫu iš-tum* 49 Kur*ḫa-ni-gal-bat ú-up-pa-lu* 50*ù ša-ṭi-ir*

66 (SMN 2098)

1*tup-pí ti-te-en-nu-ti ša eqli* 2*8* Giš*awiḫāru eqlāti*meš *i-na il-ta-a-nu* 3*eqli ša* f*a-ru-ú-na* 4*i-na e-li-en eqli ša* f*a-ru-ú-na-ma* 5*i-na su-ta-an eqli ša* m*gi-wa-ra-ri* 6*i-na šu-pa-al eqli ša* m*ur-ḫi-te-šup* 7*i-na ugāri ša* Uru*ú-nap-še-wa* 8*a-na ti-te-*

[a] ME is written over an erasure and is very doubtful.

en-nu-ti a-na 5 šanāti$^{meš\ ti}$ ^{9}*mpu-i-ta-e mār e-te-ia* ^{10}*a-na* ^{m}*nu-ša-pu mār bur-na-zi-ni ittadin*^{din} ^{11}*ù* ^{m}*nu-ša-pu 5 imēr šeāti*^{meš} *1 imēr kibta* ^{12}*3* Ma.Na *anākū*^{meš} *2 qa-lu-mu*^{meš} Nita ^{13}*ḫu-ra-pu it-ti šipāti-šu-nu* ^{14}*1 qa-lu-mu* Sal *ša ti-ši it-ti šipāti-šu* ^{15}*an-nu-tum a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti* ^{16}*ki-ma eqli šá-a-šu* ^{m}*nu-ša-pu* ^{17}*a-na* ^{m}*pu-i-ta-e it-ta-din* ^{18}*im-ma-ti-me-e 5 šanāti*$^{meš\ ti}$ ^{19}*ša pī tup-pí an-ni-i im-ta-lu-ú* ^{20}*5 imēr šea 1 imēr kibta* ^{21}*3* Ma.Na *anākā*^{meš} *2* ^{Udu}*qa-lu-mu* Nita ^{22}*ḫu-ra-pu it-ti šipāti* ^{23}*ù 1* ^{Udu}*qa-lu-mu* Sal *it-ti šipāti* ^{24} ^{m}*pu-i-ta-e a-na* ^{25} ^{m}*nu-ša-pu ú-ta-ar* (Rev.) ^{26}*ù eqil-šu-ú i-liq-qì* ^{27}*šum-ma eqlu pi-ir-ka*$_4$ *irtašū*^{šu} ^{28} ^{m}*pu-i-ta-e ú-za-ak-ka*$_4$*-ma* ^{29}*a-na* ^{m}*nu-ša-pu i-na-an-din* ^{30}Udu^{mes} *an-nu-ú it-ti šipāti-šu-nu* (erasure) ^{31}*i-na arḫi*^{bi} *ki-is-pa-tum ša iš-ki-iš-ki* ^{32} ^{m}*pu-i-ta-e il-qì ù ina arḫi*^{bi} ^{33}*an-ni-im-ma ú-ta-ar*

^{34}*maḫar e-taš-še-en-ni mār at-na-ḫi-ili* ^{35}*maḫar ḫa-na-a-a mār ta-a-a* ^{36}*maḫar ḫé-ir-ri-e-a mār te-ḫi-pa-pu* ^{37}*maḫar mu-šu-ia mār ḫa-ši-in-na-mar* ^{38}*maḫar gi-li-ip-šarri mār a-be-ia* ^{39}*qāt* ^{m}*tar-mi-til-la tup-šar-rum*

^{40}*aban tup-šar-rum* ^{41}*aban* ^{m}*pu-i-ta-e bēl eqli* ^{42}*aban* ^{m}*e-taš-še-en-ni* ^{43}*aban* ^{m}*ḫa-na-a-a* ^{44}*aban* ^{m}*ḫé-ir-ri-ia* ^{45}*aban* ^{m}*gi-li-ip-šarri* (Edge) ^{46}*aban* ^{m}*mu-šu-ia* ^{47}*tup-pí an-ni-i ina arki*^{ki} ^{48}*šu-du-ti ina abulli ša* ^{Uru} ^{49}*ú-nap-še-wa ša-ṭì-ir*

67 (SMN 2097)

^{1}*lišān-šu ša* ^{m}*ma-an-nu-ma-ḫi-ir-šu* ^{2}*mār na-i-še-ri a-na pa-ni awēlūti*^{meš} ^{3}*šībūti*^{meš} *an-nu-ti ki-am iq-ta-bi* ^{4}*2 imēr eqlāti*^{meš} *i-na ugāri ša* ^{5} ^{Uru}*ú-nap-še-wa i-na il-ta-an* ^{6}*ù i-na šu-pa-al mi-iṣ-ri* ^{7}*ša dīmti ir-ri-bi-a* ^{8}*ina šu-ta-an eqli ša* ^{m}*a-be-na-ri* ^{9}*ina e-li-en ḫarrāni ša* ^{Uru}*a-be-na-aš* ^{10}*um-ma* ^{m}*ma-an-nu-ma-ḫi-ir-šu-ma* ^{11}*eqlu ša-a-šu ina pa-na-nu-um-ma* ^{12} ^{m}*e-en-na-pa-li mār še-en-na-a-a* ^{13}*aḫu-šu ša* ^{m}*mu-ša-pu mār bur-na-zi-ni* ^{14}*ki-i-ma 40* Ma.Na *erī*^{meš} *ù* ^{15}*ki-i-ma 5 imēr šeāti*^{meš} *a-na* ^{16}*ti-te-en-nu-ti a-na* ^{m}*ḫa-ma-an-na mār šúr-ki-du-ri* ^{17}*a-pa-a-bi-ia it-ta-din* ^{18}*ù i-na-an-na 1* Gud Nita *damqu*^{ku} ^{19}*du-um-na-ar-pu ki-ma* ^{20}*40* Ma.Na *erā*^{meš} *ù ki-i-ma* ^{21}*5 imēr šeāti*^{meš} *a-šar* ^{m}*mu-ša-pu* ^{22}*el-te-qì-mi ù ap-la-ku* ^{23}*eqla ša-a-šu a-na* ^{m}*mu-ša-pu* ^{24}*um-te-eš-ši-ir šum-ma* (Rev.) ^{25} ^{m}*ma-an-nu-ma-ḫi-ir-šu aš-šum* ^{26}*eqli ša-a-šu i-na arki* ^{m}*mu-ša-pu* ^{27}*i-sa-as-sí 1* Ma.Na *kaspa* ^{28}*1* Ma.Na *ḫurāṣa a-na* ^{m}*mu-ša-pu umallā*^{la} ^{29}*tup-pu i-na arki šu-du-ti* ^{30}*a-šar abulli ša* ^{Uru}*ú-nap-še-wa* ^{31}*ša-ṭì-ir*

^{32}*maḫar ta-a-a mār warad-dūri* ^{33}*maḫar ur-ḫi-šarri mār zi-qa-a-a* ^{34}*maḫar ad-ma-nu* (*nu* written over erasure) *mār šu-ul-be-ni-ni* ^{35}*maḫar na-an-te-e-a mār ḫu-um-mu-ru* ^{36}*maḫar ki-im-pa-ru mār* ^{d}*adad-rabū* ^{37}*maḫar šur-ki-til-la mār a-be-e-a* ^{38}*maḫar tar-mi-til-la tupšarru* ^{39}*maḫar i-ri-ri-til-la ma-ṣar abulli* ^{40}*mār a-ri-pa-pu* ^{41}*aban* ^{m}*ta-a-a* ^{42}*aban* ^{m}*ur-ḫi-šarri* ^{43}*aban* ^{m}*ad-ma-nu* ^{44}*aban* ^{m}*ki-im-pa-rum* ^{45}*aban* ^{m}*na-an-te-e-a* (Edge) ^{46}*aban* ^{m}*šur-ki-til-la* ^{47}*aban* ^{m}*i-ri-ri-til-la* ^{48}*aban* ^{m}*tar-mi-til-la tupšarru*

68 (SMN 415)

1*um-ma* m*qa-ti-ri-ma* 2*mār še-en-na-a-a* m*ta-a-a* 3*mār ar-te-e-a a-na* 4Udu^{meš} *a-na mu-ul-li-e* 5*daiānū*^{meš} *id-du-uš* 6*i-na-an-na ina ūmi an-ni-i* 7[U]du^{meš} *ša-šu-nu ina muḫḫi*^{bi} 8m*ta-a-a um-te-eš-ši-ir*

9*aban* m*ḫa-šu-. . .-a* (Rev.) 10*aban* m*qa-ti-ri* 11*aban* m*ak-ku-li-en-ni mār* [*a*]*-zi-ia* 12*aban* m*ak-ku-li-en-ni mār eḫ-li-ia* 13*aban* m*ur-ḫi-te-šup tupšarri* (Lo. Edge) 14*aban* m*zi-ki-. . .*

69 (SMN 479)

1*lišan-šu-ma ša* 2m*ta-a-ni aḫi-šu* 3*ša* m*wa-aḫ-ri-še-ni* 4*a-na pa-ni daiānī*^{meš} *iq-ta-a-bi* 5*a-ni-na 1 imēr eqla* 6m*wa-aḫ-ri-še-ni* 7*a-na* m*en-na-ma-ti* 8*mār te-ḫi-ip-til-la iddinu*^{nu} 9*ù iš-tum 7 šanāti*^{meš} 10*eqla ša-a-šu ak-la-šu-mi* 11m*wa-aḫ-ri-še-ni* 12*na-di-nu ša eqli* 13m*en-na-ma-ti* 14*ú-up-pa-la ù* 15*di-in-šu* (Rev.) 16*ša* m*ta-a-ni* 17*i-pár-ra-zu* 18*tup-pí ḫu-uz-zu-zi*

19*aban* m*ar-ša-ši* 20*aban* m*ar-ni-ia* 21*aban* m*ar-te-šup* (Edge) 22*aban* m*a-ri-iq-qa-na-ri*

70 (SMN 940)

1m*ša-tu-ta-e mār nu-ul-te-šup* 2*it-ti* m*wu-ur-te-šup mār ur-ḫi-te-šup* 3*i-na di-ni a-na pa-ni daiānī*^{meš} *i-te-lu-ma* 4*um-ma* m*ša-tu-ta-e* m*wu-ur-te-šup* 5*it-talka*$_4$*-am-ma um-ma šu-ma* 6*um-ma lu*m*ip-ša-ḫa-lu* ^{Giš}*narkabat-ka bi-la-am-ma-mi ù* 7*a-na āl ilāni*^{meš} *lu-ul-lik-mi* 8*ù* ^{Giš}*narkabta il-te-qí-ma ù iš-tu*$_4$ 9^{ǰ}*arḫi*^{bi} ^{meš} *ú-ka*$_4$*-al ù i-na-an-na* 10.^{Giš}*narkabti-ia i-ri-iš-ma la inandin*^{din} 11*ù daiānū*^{meš} m*wu-ur-te-šup iš-ta-lu-uš* 12*um-ma* m*wu-ur-te-šup an-ni-mi* 13m*ip-ša-ḫa-*[*lu iš*]*-tap-ra-an-ni-ma* 14*ù* ^{Giš}*narkabta a-*[*šar*] m*ša-du-ta-e* 15*il-te-qí-mi ù daiānū*^{meš} (erasure) 16[*a*]*-šar* m*wu-ur-te-šup iš-ta-lu-uš* ^{Giš}*narkabtaša te-el-qú-ú a-ni-na-mi* 17*um-ma* m*wu-ur-te-šup* ^{Giš}*narkabtu* 18*i-na* ^{Uru}*an-zu-gal-li a-ši-ib* 19*ki-i lišān* (written over erasure)*-šu-ma ša* m*wu-ur-te-šup* 20m*ša-tu-ta-e i-na di-ni* 21*il-te-e-ma ù daiānū*^{meš} 22*a-na* m*wu-ur-te-šup iq-ta-bu-ú* 23*a-lik-ma-mi ki-*[*me*]*-e* ^{Giš}*narkabtu ša* 24*a-šar* m*ša-tu-ta-e te-el-qú-ú* 25*ma-ši-*[*il*] *ù ki-na-an-na* 26 ^{Giš}*narkabta* [*ša*] *maš-lu a-na* 27m*ša-tu-ta-e te-ir-mi*

(Rev.) 28*aban* m*tu-r*[*a-r*]*i daiāni* 29*mār* . . . . . 30*aban* m*na-an-na-ki-*[*il*]*-daḫ daiāni* 31*mâr dūr-*^{d}*En.*[*Lil*] 32*aban* m*ti-. . .eš-wa-nu-uḫ-ni daiāni* 33*mār ki-bi-ia* 34*qāt* m*a-ki-ia tupšarri*

71 (SMN 1153)

1m*e-a-dup-ki a-na pa-*[*ni*] 2m*ka-ar-tu-ut-ti u*[*š*]*-te-ḫé-in* 3*um-ma šu-ma* m*a-bu-uk-ka iḫ-ta-áb-la-an-ni i-na e-mu-qí-im-ma* 5*i-na bīti-šu ú-še-ri-ba-an-ni-mi* 6*ù* m*ka-ar-tu-ut-ti* m*iḫ-li-te-šup* 7*iš-ta-par-mi um-ma šu-ma* 8*daiānī*^{meš} *it-ti-ka li-qí-mi* 9*ù di-na-šu ša* m*e-a-dup-ki* [*e-pu*]*-uš-mi*

10 *m a-bu-uk-ka it-[ti m e-a-dup-ki]* 11*a-na d[i-n]i a-na pa-ni dai[ānīmeš i-te-lu-ma]* 12*um-ma m e-a-dup-ki-ma m a-b[u-uk-ka]* 13*iḫ-bi-la-an-ni ù tup-pa-šu [ša]* 14 *m a-bu-uk-ka a-na pa-ni daiānī[meš]* 15*uš-te-li-ma ù il-ta-zu-uš ša li-ú-ti* 16*ki-me-e daiānūmeš m a-kip-ta-še-ni* 17 *mšar-ri-ia mši-a-ti ù mzi-ni* 18*¼ awēlūtimeš daiānūmeš an-nu-tum* 19 *m e-a-dup-ki a-na 50 imēr šeātimeš* 20*ù a-na 1 alpi a-na m a-bu-uk-ka* 21*id-du-šu-mi* 22*m a-bu-uk-ka i-na di-ni* 23*il-te-e-ma daiānūmeš* 24 *m e-a-dup-ki a-na 1 amti* 25*a-na m a-bu-uk-ka it-ta-du-uš* (Rev.) 26*ki-me-e di-na m e-a-dup-ki* 27*ši-na-túm-ma i-pu-šu*

28*ù a-na 1 alpi a-na m a-kip-ta-še-ni a-na daiāni* 29*a-na 1 alpi a-na mzi-ni a-na daiāni* 30*a-na 1 alpi a-na mši-a-ti a-na daiāni* 31*a-na 1 alpi a-na mšar-ri-ia a-na daiāni* 32 *m e-a-dup-ki a-na d[aiānī]meš it-ta-du-uš* 33*ki-me-e di-na ši-[na]-túm-ma i-pu-šu*

34*[kunuk] mdu[b-b]i-te-šup* 35*kunuk mšu-um-mi-[ia]* 36*kunuk miḫ-li-te-šup* 37*kunuk mšúk-ri-ia kunuk dsin-i-qí-ša* 38*kunuk m a-ku-še-ni* 39*kunuk mšu-[ur-ru]-ka* (Edge) 40*qāt men-na-ma-ti tupšarri* 41*kunuk m te-ḫi-ia*

72 (SMN 2131)

1 *mú-na-a-a mār ḫa-am-bi-zi* 2*it-ti m a-qa-wa-til* 3*mār tar-mi-ia i-na di-ni* 4*a-na pa-ni daiānīmeš i-te-lu-ma* 5*um-ma mú-na-a-a-ma* 6*i-na* Edin.Na *m a-qa-wa-til* 7*ir-bi-za-an-ni-mi ù lišān-šu* 8*ša m a-qa-wa-til a-na pa-ni* 9*daiānīmeš iq-ta-bi a-an-ni* 10*a-na-ḫa-mi-iš ni-in-ta-aḫ-ḫa-az-mi* 11*ù ki-i-ma lišān-šu-nu-ma* 12*it-tar-zu ù iq-ta-bu-ú* 13*ni-in-ta-aḫ-ḫa-az-mi* 14*ù daiānūmeš mi-iḫ-zi-šu-nu* 15*ša ki-la-al-lu-šu-nu-ma* 16*im-ta-nu-ú ù qaqqadudu* 17*[ša] mú-na-a-a a-na an-za-an-..* 18*..-na 1 ḫi-e-pí ù d[a-ma]* 19*um-me-eš-ši-ir ù* 20*...-tum mi-iḫ-zi-šu-nu* 21*..-qa-ru um-ma-ni-šu* (Rev.) 22*[i]-na di-ni mu-na-a-a* 23*il(?)-te-i-ma ù daiānū[meš]* 24 *m a-qa-wa-til ki-ma* 25*lišān-šu-ma a-na 30* Su *kaspi* 26*mu-ul-li-e a-na 1 alpi* 27*[1] imēri ù a-na 10* Udumeš 28*a-na mú-na-a-a it-ta-din* 29*qāt* dAk.Dingir.Ra *tup-šar-rum*

30*aban ....* 31*aban mi-ru-ia* 32*aban mut-ḫáp-ta-e* 33*aban mur-ḫi-ia* 34*aban me-ik-ki-ia* (Edge) 35 *aban mú-nap-ta-e*

73 (SMN 2027)

1 *mwa-an-ti-ia mār iḫ-li-pa-pu* 2*it-ti mni-ir-ḫi-til-la mār* (sic) 3*ina di-ni a-na pa-ni daiānīmeš i-te-lu-ma* 4*um-ma mwa-an-ti-ia-ma* 5*a-na mni-ir-ḫi-til-la la ḫu-ub-bu-la-ku-mi* 6*ù a-na zi-ḫi it-ta an-ni-mi* 7*ù a-na 2 u4-mimeš i-na zi-ḫi* 8*na-ta-ku-mi daiānūmeš* (*a-na* erased) *mni-ir-ḫi-til-la iš-ta-lu-uš um-ma mni-ir-ḫi-til-la-ma* 10 *mwa-an-ti-ia Lúḫu-bu-ul-li-ia* 11*pu-ta im-ta-ḫa-az-mi ù* 12*i-na ú-zu-ur-ti it-ti-šu-mi* 13*daiānūmeš Lúšībūtimeš-šu ša mni-ir-ḫi-til-la* 14*i-te-ir-šu um-ma mni-ir-ḫi-til-la-ma* 15 *mša-te-en-šu-uḫ-ma-mi ši-bu-ia-mi* 16*ù ša-nu-ú ši-

bu-ti-ia ia-nu-mi [17]*daiānū*^{meš} ^{m}*ša-te-en-šu-uḫ* [18]*iš-ta-lu-uš um-ma* ^{m}*ša-te-en-šu-uḫ-ma* [19]*ù-la-mi la ši-bá-ku-mi a-ma-te-e*^{meš}*-šu-nu* [20]*la i-te-šu-nu-ti-mi daiānū*^{meš} [21]*a-na* ^{m}*ni-ir-ḫi-til-la iq-ta-bu-ú* [22]*a-lik-ma-mi ù* ^{m}*wa-an-ti-ia* [23]*ilāni*^{meš} *i-ša-šu-mi* (one sign erased) [24] ^{m}*še-qa-ru mār ku-šu-ia* ^{m}*ta-i-qa* [25]*mār a-pu-uš-ki ù* ^{m}*gi-ra-a-a* [26]*mār zi-líp(?)***-ni-til-la 3 awēlūti*^{meš} *an-nu-ti daiānū*^{meš} *a-na* [27]*ma-an-za-ad-duḫ-lu-ti a-na ilāni*^{meš} [28]*iš-tap-ru a-šar ilāni*^{meš} ^{m}*ni-ir-ḫi-til-la* [29]*id-du-ur ina di-ni* ^{m}*wa-an-ti-ia il-te-e* [30]*ù daiānū*^{meš} ^{m}*ni-ir-ḫi-til-la* (Rev.) [31]*a-na 1 alpi a-na zi-ḫi na-ti-šu* [32]*a-na* ^{m}*wa-an-ti-ia* [33]*it-ta-du-uš*

[34]*qāt* ^{m}*ur-ḫi-te tupšarri* [35]*aban ul-mi-ia mār šur-ki-til-la* [36]*aban te-ḫi-ip-zu-lu-uk mār ak-ku-li-ni* [37]*aban šur-ki-til-la mār a-kip-ta-še-ni*

74 (SMN 1110)

[1]*um-ma* ^{f}*šu-ḫu-ur-na-a-a-ma* [2]*šum-ma 15 imēr šea 9 imēr ki-bá-tum* [3]*1 (pi) 20 (qa)* [*ḫal-lu-ru*] [4]*6 šaḫê*^{meš} *1* Ri Ni [5]*30* Udu^{meš} *šum-ma an-nu-tum* [6]*ša* ^{m}*ki-bi-ia mu-ti-ia ...***-šu* [7] ^{m}*na-ni-ia ù* ^{m}*ku-la-ḫu-bi* [8]*la il-te-qu-ú ù* [9]*la ik-ki-ru-šu-nu-ti-ma*

[10]*um-ma* ^{m}*na-*[*ni-ia*] [11]*ù um-ma* ^{m}[*ku-la-ḫu-bi*] [12]*šum-ma 15* [*imēr šea*] [13]*9 imēr kibāti*[meš] (Rev.) [14]*1(pi) 20 (qa) ḫal-lu-r*[*u*] [15]*6* [*šaḫê*^{meš} *1*] Ri Ni [16]*30* Udu^{meš} *šum-ma* [*an-nu-tum*] [17][*ša*] ^{m}*ki-bi-ia* ^{Lú}*...** [18]*ša* ^{f}*šu-ur-na-a-a* (sic) *i-*[*qa-b*]*i* [19]*ni-i-nu ni-il-qú-ú-ma* [20]*ù i-na-an-na* [21]*ni-ik-ki-ru-ma* [22][*qāt*] ^{m}*ma-li-ia tup-šar-rum*

[23]*kunuk* ^{m}*ak-ku-li-en-ni*

[24]*aš-šum a-wa-ti an-na-ti* [25]*i-na* ^{Id}*ḫur-ša-an illakū*^{ku} [26]*ša ig-gal-lu* Gaz.*Uš* [27]*a-wa-tum ša ḫu-ub-ti*

(Edge) [28]*kunuk* ^{m}*pu-*[*ru*]*-sa* [29]*kunuk* ^{m}*ar-tar-wa* [30]*kunuk* ^{m}*aš-šu-wa(?)-a(?)-na(?)*

75 (SMN 251)

[1]*um-ma* ^{f}*ku-ri-du-ma šum-m*[*a*] [2] ^{f}*du-ul-du-ú-ma* [3]*it-ti-ia la iz-zi-e-lu-ma* [4]*ù šum-ma ki-na-an-na la iq-bu-ú-ma* [5]*amtum*^{tum} *ša* ^{m}*it-ḫa-pu at-ti-mi* [6]*ù šum-ma a-na-ku la aq-bu-ú-ma* [7]*am-mi-ni amtum*^{tum} *ša* ^{m}*it-ḫa-pu* [8]*a-na-ku-mi amtum*^{tum} *ša šarri a-na-ku-mi* (line 8 was written over an erasure) [9]*ù šum-ma* ^{f}*du-ul-du la iq-bu-ú* [10]*..-li .... il-ki šarru* [11]*a-na* ^{m}*it-ḫa-pu a-na-at-ti-*[*in*]

[12]*um-ma* ^{f}*du-ul-du-ma* [13]*a-an-*[*n*]*i-mi it-ti* [14] ^{f}*ku-ri-tum iz-zi-el-mi* [15]*ù šum-ma* [*a-na-k*]*u* [16]*a-na* ^{f}*ku-ri-tum* [17]*ki-na-an-na la aq-bu-ma* (Rev.) [18]*amtum*^{tum} *ša* ^{m}*it-ḫa-pu* [19]*at-ti-mi ù šum-ma* [20] ^{f}*ku-ri-tum la iq-bu-ma* [21]*am-mi-ni amtum*^{tum} *ša* ^{m}*it-ḫa-pu* [22]*a-na-ku-mi a (?) amtum*^{tum} *ša šarri* [23]*a-na-ku-mi ù šum-ma a-na-ku* [24]*la aq-bu-ma a-an-ni-mi* [25]*an-nu-ú ù an-nu-ú ni-te-ma-mi* [26]*ù šum-ma ki-na-*[*an-na la a*]*q-buma* [27]..... *il-ki šarru-mi* [28](erased: 5 signs, the first of which was ù)

29*aš-šum a-wa-ti an-ni-ti* 30*ina* ^{Íd}*ḫur-ša-an illakū*$^{meš\ ku}$ *ša ig-gal-la* 31:Gaz.Uš 32*kunuk* ^{m}*zu-ia* 33*kunuk* ^{m}*ar-ḫa-ma-an-*[*na*] [*mar*] *a-kip-*... (Edge) 34*kunuk* ^{m}*zi-in* 35*aban* ^{m}[*pa*]*l-te-šup mār ḫa-li-ip-pa* 36[*qāt* ^{m}An].Ni-*šu tupšarri*

76 (SMN 2093)

1*a-na* ^{m}*še-eḫ-ra-mu-uš-ni* 2*ki-bí-ma* 3*um-ma* ^{m}*ta-ti-ip-te-šup-ma* 4*ni-iš bītāti*^{meš}-*šu ša* 5 ^{m}*še-ḫal-te-šup šeāti*^{meš} 6*a-na la-qa-ti i-na* 7*dīmti tam-qa-ar-ra* 8*it-ta-at-la-ku* 9(*i-na*[*?*] erased) *ù iš-ri-ku* 10*ù mi-nu-um-me-e* (Rev.) 11*awēlūti*^{meš} *šar-ra-qa-ni-šu-nu* 12 ^{m}*š*[*e-ḫal*]*-te-šup* 13*l*[*i-i*]*q-bi-šu-nu-ti* 14*ṣa-bat-zu-nu-ti-ma* 15*ù i-na muḫḫi*^{bi} *šarri* 16*šu-bi-la-aš-šu-nu-ti*

77 (SMN 538)

1*1 sinništu ša ēkallim*^{lim} 2*a-na 5 bilat erī*^{meš} 3 ^{m}*i-li-it-ti-ia tamkarru* 4*il-qì ù i-na* 5*e-ri-ib ḫarrāni*^{ni}*-šu* 6*ša 5 bilat erī*^{meš} 7*a-na* ^{Giš}*erina*$^{na\ meš}$ 8*a-na* ^{Giš}*šu-ur-mi-ni*^{meš} 9*a-na* ^{Giš}*ta-ap-ra-ni* 10*a-na* ^{Giš}*a-zi*^{meš} 11*a-na mi-it-ri* (Rev.) 12*ù a-na e-it-na-qa-bi-i* 13*a-na* Síg ^{Na_4}*ugnî*^{meš} 14*a-na* Síg *ki-na-aḫ-ḫi* 15*ù a-na ḫu-ru-ḫu-ra-ti* 16*ša tu-ul-ti*^{meš} 17 ^{m}*ili-it-ti-ia* 18*ú-up-pa-aš-ma ù ina ēkalli* 19*a-na* ^{m}*ta-a-a i-na-an-din*

20*kunuk* ^{m}*ili-it-ti-ia tamkarri*

78 (SMN 53)

1*4* Udu$^{bi.a\ meš}$ *ù* 2*10 ta-pa-lu* Tig.Ud.Du Gú.È^{meš} *ši-na-ḫi-lu* 3*ša ēkallim*^{lim} 4 ^{m}*ar-ra-ap-ḫa-ri* 5*mār iš-ti-ri* ^{Lú}*tám-qar-rum* 6*a-na tám-qar-ru-ut-ti* 7*il-qì ù ši-im-šu-nu* 8*šipāti*^{meš} ... *aš-lu-ti* 9[*a*]*r*(*-?*)*-ki*(*?*) .. [*š*]*a* Ni^{meš} 10*ù* (*?*) *qaq-qadu* .. *mu-..-tum* 11*ša bītāti*$^{bi.a}$ *ša ēkallim*^{lim} 12*ša* ^{Uru}*nu-zi* 13*ú-up-pa-la*

(Rev.) 14*aban* ^{m}*ar-ra-ap-ḫa-ri tamkarri*

79 (SMN 2141)

1*lišān-šu ša* ^{m}*ḫa-ši-ip-til-la mār ki-bu*(*?*)*-ia* 2*a-na pa-ni awēlūti*^{meš} *ši-bu-ti an-nu-ti* 3*iq-ta-bi 1* Udu *damqa* 4(erased) 5*a-na ši-mi a-na* Dam.Gar-*ši a-šar wu-ur-*[*te-šup*] 6*el-te-qì ù a-na* 7*2* Su *kaspi damqi* 8-9(erased) 10*iš-tū ḫarrani*^{ni} *i-na* $^{Itu\ bi}$*Ḫu-Ri-Ši* 11*a-na* ^{m}*wu-ur-te-šup a-*[*na*]*-an-din* 12*ù i*[*m-m*]*a-ti* ^{m}[*ḫa-ši-ip-til-la*] *2* Su *ka*[*spi*] 13-14(erased) 15*i-na bīt*^{it} ^{m}*wu-ur-te-šup* 16*ú-še-ri-ib ù* 17 ^{m}*wu-ur-te-šup* 18*1* Udu Nita *ša 2-šu ba-a*[*k-nu*] (Rev.) 19(erased) 20*a-na* ^{m}*ḫa-ši-ip-til-la* 21*mār* [*ki-bu*(*?*)*-ia ú-ta-ar*] (the rest of Rev. is mostly destroyed)

22*kunuk* ^{m}*ša-ar-te-šup* 23[*kunuk* ^{m}]....*-te-šup* 24[*kunuk*] ^{m}*tar-mi-te-šup mār a-kip-ta-še-ni* (Edge) 25*kunuk* .....

80 (SMN 59)

1[1] Ma.Na *32* Su *erā*^{meš} 2*iš-tu erī*^{meš} *ša* 3*ni-gál-la*^{meš} *ša ēkallim*^{lim} 4^{m}*ku-laḫu-bi ša a-na* 5^{m}*pa-i-til-la ša na-ad-nu* 6*ù i-na-an-na* 71 Ma.Na *32* Su *erū*$^{[meš]}$ 8*ša-a-šu-ma a-na* 9^{Giš}*dalti ša ma-qa-....** *ša libbi āli* 10*a-na qāti*^{ti} (Rev.) 11[*ša*] ^{m}[*pa*]*-i-til-la* 12*na-ad-nu*

13*aban* ^{m}*pa-i-til-la*

81 (SMN 67)

110 *biltu* 27 Ma.Na *30* Su *erī* 3*ḫa-mu-zi* 4^{m}*ḫé-el-ti-ip-te-šup* 5*ù* ^{m}*qar-mi-šá* 6*iš-tu bît na-kam-ti* 7*ša* ^{Uru}*nu-zi* (Rev.) 8*it-ta-aš-ru*

82 (SMN 41)

120 Su^{meš} *še-ši-im-te-na* 2*iš-tu bīti*^{ti} 3*na-kam-ti* 4*uš-te-ṣú-ú* 5*a-na* ^{m}*ak-ku-li-en-ni* 6*it-ta-ad-nu*

(Rev.) 7*aban ak-ku-li-ni* (sic)

83 (SMN 2058)

11 ^{Giš}*narkabtu i-na* 2*iš-qa-ri* 3*ša* ^{Uru}*nu-zi* 4*a-na* ^{Lú}*ú-pa-ru-ú-ti* 5*ša* ^{Kur}*ḫa-nigal-bat* 6*i-na i-zi-ni* 7*gi-nu-ni* 8*ša āl ilāni*$^{[meš]}$ 9*na-di-n*[*a*]

(Rev.) 10[*aban* ^{m}*š*]*ur-ki-til-la* 11*mār a-kip-ta-še-en-ni*

84 (SMN 2056)

11 ^{Giš}*narkabtu a-šar* 2^{m}*a-ki-pa-pu* 3*mār ḫa-ši-pa-pu* 4*li-qú-ú-ma* 5*a-na* ^{m}*ar-ru-um-ti mār* (sic) 6*na-din ù* 7^{m}*ar-ru-um-ti* 8*i-na* ^{Kur}*aš-šur* 9*ú-bi-la*

(Rev.) 10*aban ḫa-ši-ip-til-la* 11*mār ḫu-ti-ia*

85 (SMN 549)

11 *ma-at ù 50* 2*iṣē*^{meš} *še-pí-tum* 3*ša-ak-ku-ul-li* 4^{m}*ni-iḫ-ri-ia mār šarri iddinu*^{nu} 590 *iṣē*^{meš} *še-pí-tum* 6*a-na 10* ^{Giš}*ba-aš-šu-ri-ti* 7*nadnu*^{nu} 89 ^{Giš}*še-pí-tum* 9^{m}*te-ḫi-ip-til-la*

86 (SMN 501)

13 Gud Nita *zi-il-lu-t*[*i*] 229 Gud Lid^{meš} *ša* Ù.Tu 38 Gud Nita *ša 3 šānāti*^{meš} 46 Gud Sal *ša 3 šanāti*^{meš} 57 *būru* (Zur) Nita *ša šatti*^{ti} 65 *būru* Sal *ša šatti*^{ti} 7*napḫar 58* Gud^{meš} 8*ša* ^{m}*ši-il-wa-te-šup* 9*a-na qāt* ^{m}*bēl-aḫi*^{bi}*-šu* 10*a-na qāt* ^{m}*ta-i-qa na-a*[*d-nu*]

(Rev.) 11*4* Udu Sal *ša* Ù.Tu 121 Udu Nita *ša 3 ša*[*nāti*^{meš}] 132 *zu-ḫi-ri-e* Sal [*ša*] *2 šanāti*^{meš} 141 Udu Nita *ša 2 šanāti*

15*napḫar 8* Udu^{meš} *a-na qāt* 16 ^{m}*wi-ir-ri-iš-ta-an-ni na-ad-nu*
17*aban* ^{m}*wi-ir-ri-iš-ta-ni* 18*aban* ^{m}*bēl-aḫi^{bi}-šu*

87 (SMN 25)

1*5 imēr šeu a-na zerē^{meš}* 2*a-na 5 imēr eqli* 3*ša* ʃ*ú-uz-na* 4*a-na* ^{m}*ki-ba-li* 5*na-ad-nu ù eqlāti^{meš}* 6*ša* ʃ*ú-uz-na* 7*a-na šu-ta-pu-ti ù* 8 ^{m}*ki-ba-li* 9*la i-na-an-din*
(Rev.) 10*aban* ^{m}*ki-ba-li*

88 (SMN 1031)

1*2 imēr eqla* ^{m}*na-ni-ip-til-la mār mu-uš-še-a* 2*zēra$^{meš\ a}$ il-qì eqlu zēru^{b} ša* ^{m}*ḫe-el-ti-ip-til-la*
3*1 imēr eqla zēra$^{meš\ a}$ ša* ^{m}*ḫé-el-ti-ip-*[*til-l*]*a* 4 ^{m}*wa-an-ti-iš-še mār ši-il-wa-a-a* ⟨*il-qì*⟩
5*1 imēr eqla zēra$^{meš\ a}$* 6 ^{m}*dur-pu-un-na mār ur-ḫi-ia il-qì* 7*zēru^{b} ša* ^{m}*ḫé-el-ti-ip-til-la* 8*ù eqlu ša* ^{m}*dur-pu-un-na-ma* 9*ù eqla šu-nu-ma i-ir-ri-šu* 10*i-iz-zi-tum* 11*i-dá-aš-šu-nu* 12*šea^{meš} ù tibna$^{meš\ c}$* (Rev.) 13*it-ti* ^{m}*ḫe-el-ti-ip-til-la* 14*a-na mi-it-ḫa-ri-iš* 15*i-zu-uz-zu*
16*aban* ^{m}*na-ni-ip-til-la* 17*qāt* ^{m}*ši-ma-an-ni* 18*aban* ^{m}*wa-an-ti-iš-še* (Edge) 19*aban* ^{m}*dur-pu-un-na*

89 (SMN 75)

1*12 imēr 1 (pi) 20 (Sìla) šamaššammu^{meš}* 2*la za-ku* 3*7 imēr šamaššammu* 4*za-ku-ú* 5*i-na* Giš.Bar 6*ša 8 qa* (rest uninscribed)

90 (SMN 48)

1*1 nu-bi qanāti*(Gi)^{meš} 2*šu-ku-te ša ēkallim^{lim}* 4*iš-tu* ^{Uru}*nu-zi* 5*a-šar* ^{m}*ti-šá-am-mu-uš-ni* 6*i-na*^{Uru} 7*du-ru-ub-la* 8*a-na qāti^{ti}* (Rev.) 9 ^{m}*tar-mi-til-la* 10*mār tar-mi-te-šup* 11*na-ad-nu*
12*aban* ^{m}*tar-mi-til-la*

91 (SMN 446)

1*um-ma* ^{m}*a-*.... 2*mār na-an-te-*.. 3*9 imēr šeāti^{meš}* .... [*iš*]*-tu šipāti^{meš} ša* 4 ^{m}*ḫa-šu-ar* [*mār ši-mi*]*-qa-ri* 5*a-na ma-aš-ka-ni* 6*i-na bīti^{ti}-ia* 7*ša-ak-nu ù* (written over erasure) 8(erased) 9 ^{m}*ḫa-šu-ar* 10*i-na a-i-im-me-e* 11u_4*-mi e-ri-iz-zu-nu-ti* 12*ù i-liq-qì*
(Rev.) 13*aban* ^{m}*a-*..*-ia* 14*aban* ^{m} ^{d}*adad-ilu-reštū* 15*tup-šar-rum*

a Še.Nu$_5$^{meš}.
b Nu$_5$.
c Še.In.Nu^{meš}.

92 (SMN 279)

1*¼* Udu Nita^{meš} Gal 2*10 qa-lu-mu*^{meš} 3*10* Udu Sal Ù.Tu^{meš} 4*mu-ud-du-šu* 5*ša še-qa-ar-zi-iz-za-a* 6*iš-tu 96* Udu^{meš} 7*50* Udu^{meš} *ša* 8*mi-du-ud-mi* 9*aban še-qa-ar-zi-iz-za-a* 10*mār ḫa-na-aq-qa-a*

93 (SMN 162)

1*um-ma* ^{m}*ḫu-bi-*[*ta*] 2*mār ḫa-al-še-e*[*n-ni-ma*] 3 ^{m}*šu-ri-ḫi-il mār el-*.... 4*a-na ia-ši me-im-ma* 5*la ḫu-ub-bu-ul ù* 6*a-na arki* ^{m}*šu-ri-ḫi-il* 7*la a-ša-as-sí-me* 8*ù um-ma* ^{m}*šu-ri-ḫi-il-ma* 9*ù* ^{m}*ḫu-bi-ta a-na* 10*ia-ši la ḫu-ub-bu-ul-me* 11*ù arki* ^{m}*ḫu-bi-ta* 12*la a-ša-as-sí-me* 13*ša ibalkatu*^{tu_4} 14*1* Ma.Na [*kaspa*] *1* Ma.Na *ḫurāṣa* 15*ú-ma-al-la*

(Rev.) 16*maḫar pal-te-ia mār e-t*[*e*]-.... 17*maḫar ḫa-šu-a-ar mār še-qa-rum* 18*maḫar ḫu-ti-ia mār ta-pa-*... 19*maḫar ilu-ib*(*aš*)*šū*^{šu} *mār ḫa-ma-an-na* 20*maḫar a-li-ib-bi-ia* 21*mār ki-iz-zi-ḫar-pa* 22*maḫar wa-an-ti-ia mār mi-ir-ku-qa* 23*maḫar* ^{d}*sin-dì-na tupšarri mār al-te-šup* 24*maḫar a-kap-dùg-gi mār qa-t*[*i-r*]*i*(*?*)

25*aban* ^{m} ^{d}*sin-dì-na tupšarri* 26*aban* ^{m}*pal-*[*te-ia*] 27*aban* ^{m}*ḫu-ti-ia* (Left Edge) 28 *aban* ^{m}*ḫu-ti-ia* 29*aban* ^{m}*a-li-ib-bi-ia* (Upper Edge) 30*aban* ^{m}*a-kap-dùg-gi*

94 (SMN 145)

1*um-ma* ^{m}*zi-ri-az-za-na-ma* 2*mār pa-i-til-la-ma* 3*a-bu-šu ša* ^{m}*zi-gi mār ta-i-til-la* 4 ^{m}*ta-i-til-la a-na ia-a-ši* 5*a-na il-te-nu-ti ḫu-ul-la-an-ni* 6*ù a-na 2 imēr šei ḫu-ub-bu-ul-mi* 7*i-na-an-na ni-it-tam-gàr-ma* 8*ki-ma 2 imēr šei ki-ma* 9*il-te-nu-ti ḫu-ul-la-an-ni* 10*12* Ma.Na *anākū*^{meš} Sal (sic) 11*a-šar* ^{m}*zi-gi el-te-qì-mi* 12*ap-la-ku-mi ša* 13*ibalkatu*^{tu_4} *1 alpa umallā*^{meš}

(Rev.) 14*kunuk ki-in-ni* ^{Lú}*ma-ṣar abulli* 15*kunuk te-ḫi-ip-til-la mār zi-lip-til-la* 16*kunuk zi-ra-a-a mār ip-šá-ḫa-lu* 17*kunuk ta-i-te-šup mār šá-ar-te-šup* 18*qāt ni-ra-ri mār ta-a-a tupšarri* 19*kunuk ḫu-ti-ip-a-pu mār pu-ru-sa*

95 (SMN 2140)

1*lišān-šu ša* ^{m}*ar-ša-wa mār apil-*^{d}*amurri*[a] 2*i-na pa-ni awēlūti*^{meš} *ši-bu-tum* 3*iq-ta-bi 1 šu-ši* (Su) *kaspā*^{meš} 4*ša* ^{m}*e-ḫé-el-te-šup mār ta-a-a* 5*a-na ši-im 1 amti il-qì-mi* 6*ù 1 amta damqa*^{ga} *na-áš-ku* 7*ša* ^{Kur}*nu-ul-lu-i* (*ša-am,* erased) 8*i-na ga*$_5$*-ma-ar arḫi*^{bi} *ḫu-ri-še* 9 ^{m}*ar-ša-wa a-na* ^{m}*e-ḫé-el-te-šup i-na-an-din* 10*šum-ma i-na u*$_4$*-mi ša qa-bu-ú* 11(*kaspa,* erased) *amta la i-na-an-din* 12*1* Ma.

[a] Tur.Uš.An.Mar.Tu

Na *erā a-na* u_4*-mi-šu* [13]*ú-ma-al-la* [14] ^{m}*ip-šá-ḫa-lu mār gi-el-ša-am-pa* [15]*ma-ḫi-iṣ pu-ti-šu* [16]*ša* ^{m}*ar-ša-wa*

[17]*maḫar na-i-te-šup mār* ... [18]*maḫar ku-uz-zu mār ar-*... [19]*maḫar ša-ku-ia mār apil-*[d]*amurri* (Rev.) [20]*maḫar tar-mi-til-la mār ur-ḫ*[*i*]*-ia* [21]*maḫar pa-i-ṣi-ni mār ta-e* [22]*qāt* ^{m}*tar-mi-ia tupšarru mār ku-a-ri* [23]*tup-pí ina arki*^{ki} [24]*šu-du-ti sa-ṭi-ir*

[25]*aban* ^{m}*tar-mi-ia tupšarru* [26]*aban* ^{m}*tar-mi-til-la* [27]*aban* ^{m}*ar-ša-wa* (Edge) [28]*aban* ^{m}*na-i-te-šup* [29]*aban* ^{m}*pa-i-ṣi-na*

96 (SMN 2135)

[1]*lišān-šu ša* ^{m}*ar-*[*ša-wa mār apil*]*-a-mur-ri* [2]*i-na pa-ni ši-bu-ti an-nu-*[*ti*] [3]*iq-ta-bi 1 amta ša* ^{Kur}*nu-ul-lu-i* [4]*a-na* ^{m}*eḫ-li-te-šup mār ta-a-a* [5]*ḫu-bu-la-ku-mi ù i-na-an-na* [6]*1 amta*^{meš} (sic) *ša* ^{Kur}*nu-ul-lu-i* [7]*a-na* ^{m}*eḫ-li-te-šup at-ta-din* [8]*ù qa-an-ni im-ta-šar* [9]*i-na* u_4*-mi an-ni-im ma-am-ma* [10]*i-na arki ma-am-ma la i-sa-as-sí* [11]*šum-ma amtu pa-qí-ra-na* [12]*ir-ta-ši* ^{m}*ar-ša-wa* [13] ^{m}*qa-in-na-ni ù* ^{m}*ša-ku-ia* [14]*[ú]-za-ak-ku-ú-šu-nu-ti* [15]*a-na* ^{m}*eḫ-li-te-šup i-na-an-*[*din*]

[16]*maḫar in-ni-qa-a-a* ^{Lú}[*tar-ku*]*-ma-su* [17]*maḫar ma-i-it-ta mār warad-*^{d}*ištar* (U) [18]*maḫar šu-um-mi-ia* (Rev.) [19]*mār eḫ-li-ia* [20]*maḫar ši-mi-qa mār túl-pi-ia* [21][*maḫar a*]*-kip-še-en-ni* [22][*mār ni*]*-iḫ-ri-ia*

[23]*kunuk a-kip-še-en-ni* [24]*kunuk ši-mi-qa* [25]*kunuk in-ni-qa-a-a* [26]*kunuk ma-it-ta* (Edge) [27]*kunuk ni-ra-ri tupšarru* [28]*kunuk ar-ša-wa* [29](erased)

97 (SMN 2094)

[1]*1 ka-ti-in-ni ša siparri* [2]*ša 1* Ma.na *šu-qú-ul-ta-šu* [3]*ù 1* Ma.Na An.Na An.Na^{meš} [4]*ša mārē*^{meš} *pu-la-ḫa-li* [5] ^{m}*šu-ru-uq-qa mār a-ri-pu-ri-ig-gi* [6]*a-na ṣipti*^{ti} *il-te-qì* [7]*ù i-na arḫi*^{bi} *še-ḫa-*[*li ša*] ^{d}*adad* [8]*qa-du ṣipti-šu* [*anāka*] [9]*ù siparra* ^{m}*š*[*u-ru-uq-qa*] [10]*a-na mārī*^{meš} *pu-*[*la-ḫa-li*] [11]*ú-ta-a*[*r*]

[12]*aban* ^{m}*a-ḫu-u*[*m*]*-mi-šá* (Rev.) [13]*maḫar at-*[*ta-a*]*-a mār a-zi-ia* [14]*maḫar zi-*[*me*] *mār zi-li-ia* [15]*maḫar el-*[*la-d*]*u mār ši-mi-qa-ri* [16]*maḫar a-ḫu-*[*um-mi-ša mār*] ...*-du-ra* [17]*maḫar tar-mi-til-l*[*a*] *tupšarru*

[18]*aban* ^{m}*zi-me* [19]*aban* ^{m}*at-ta-a-a* [20]*aban* ^{m}*el-la-du* [21]*aban tupšarri*

98 (SMN 2050)

[1]*1 sīsū* Sal [2]*zi-ir-ra-ma-an-nu* [3]*ša* ^{m}*ša-i-ma-aš-šu-ra*

[4]*1 sīsū* Sal *za-a-mu* [5]*ša* ^{m}*ti-ir-wi-na-ri* [6]*a-na qāt* ^{m}*el-ḫi-ip-* [7]*:ta-še-en-ni* (Rev.) [8]*na-ad-nu ù i-na* [9]*abnē*^{meš} *la na-du-ú*

[10]*aban* ^{m}*el-ḫi-ip-ta-še-en-ni*

99 (SMN 2029)

[1]*1 sīsū aq-qa-nu* [2]*ba-ab-ru-un-nu ša* [Kur]*ḫa-lì-gal-bat* [3]*ù 1 sīsū aq-qa-nu* [4]*ba-ab-ru-un-nu ša* [Kur]*mu-ur-ku-na-aš*

[5]*1 sīsū sāmu aq-qa-nu* [6]*1 sīsū ba-ab-ru-un-nu* Ki.Min [7]*a-šar* [m]*te-ḫi-ip-til-la aš-bu*

[8]*2 sīsē*[meš] *sāmūti*[meš] Ki.Min [9]*a-šar* [m]*ba-en-ni aš-bu*

[10]*1 sīsū* (1 sign erased) *am-qa-ma-an-nu* [11]*ša* [Kur]*mu-ur-ku-na-aš* [12]*1 sīsū am-qa-ma-an-nu* [13]*ša ēkalli a-šar* [14] [m]*ši-la-ḫi aš-bu*

(Rev.) [15]*1 sīsū ṣa-al-mu* Nita [16]*1 sīsū am-qa-ma-an-nu* Nita [17]*a-šar* [m]*ta-ú-uq-qa-an-ni aš-bu*

[18]*2 sīsē*[meš] Nita *zi-ir-ra-an-nu* [19]*ù mi-ki-ir a-šar* [20] [m]*bur-ni-ia aš-bu*

[21]*1 sīsū am-qa-ma-an-nu* [22]*ù 1 sīsū* Nita *sāmu* [23]*a-šar* [m]*ḫu-bi-ta aš-bu*

[24](*1 sīsū ba-ab-ru-un-nu,* erased and faintly visible) [25](*aq-qa-nu ša* [Kur]*ḫa-lì-gal-bat,* erased and faintly visible) [26]*1* (the rest is uninscribed)

100 (SMN 2032)

[1]*1 sīsū ba-ri-it-ta-an-nu* [2]*1 sīsū* Mu *3 ṣa-al-mu* [3]*a-na* [m]*ḫé-el-ti-ip-te-šup pa-qí-id*

[4]*1 sīsū* Nita Mu *6 sāmu bi-in-qa-ra-an-nu* [5]*1* Ki.Min Nita Mu *6 zi-ir-ra-ma-an-nu* [6]*1* Ki.Min Nita Mu *5 am-qa-ma-an-nu* [7]*ti(?)-im-zu i-na ku-ta-al-li-šu pu-ḫa-ar-ri-in-nu* [8]*1* Ki.Min Nita Mu *7 sāmu* [9]*1* Ki.Min Nita Mu *5 e-la-e* [10]*1* Ki.Min Nita Mu *5 e-la-e* [11]*1* Ki.Min Nita Mu *4 am-qa-ma-an-nu* [12]*1* Ki.Min Nita Mu *7 sāmu* [13]*napḫar 4 ṣí-mi-it-tum sīsē*[meš] [14]*an-nu-tum a-na qāt* [m]*wa-an-ti-ia nadnū*[nu]

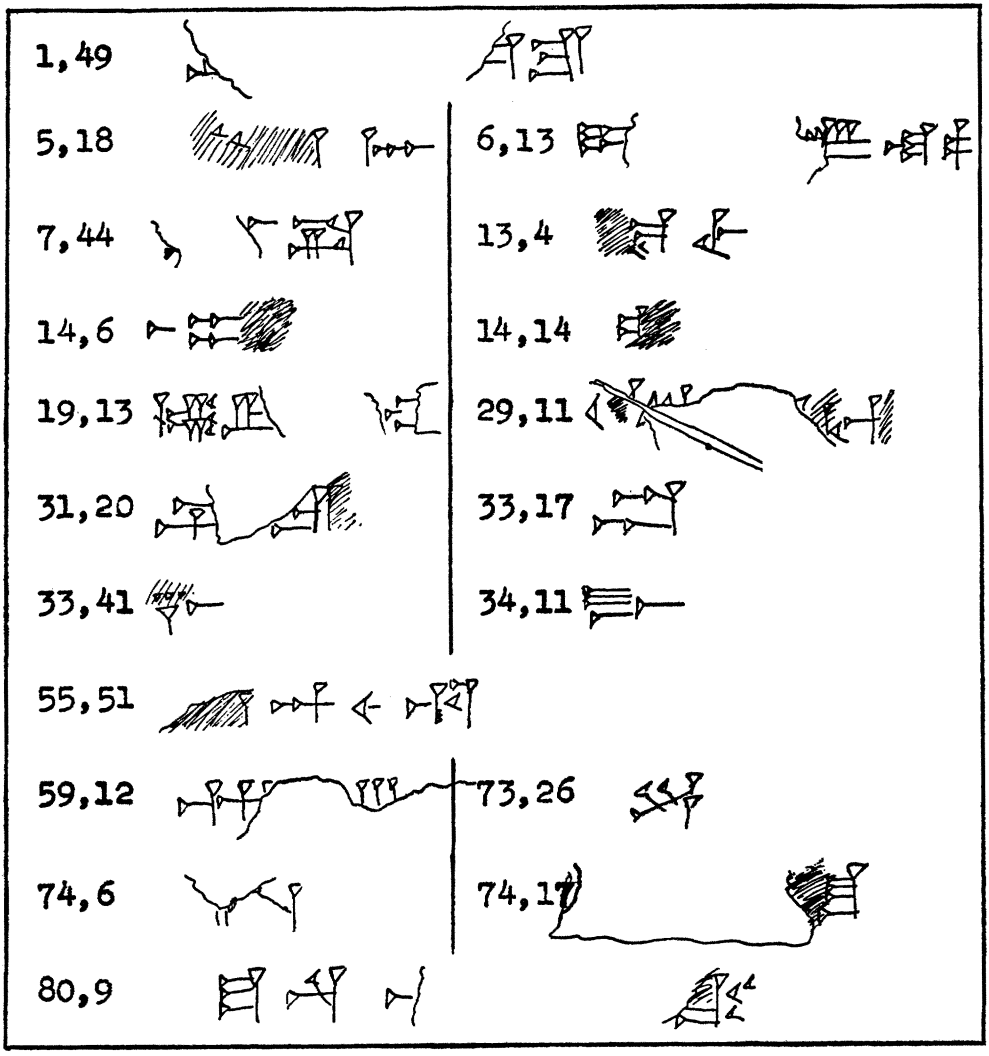
[15]*1 sīsū* Nita Mu *3 am-qa-ma-an-nu* [16]*1* Ki.Min Nita Mu *5 pè-ṣú-ú* [17]*1* Ki.Min Nita Mu *6 sāmu* ... [18]*1* Ki.Min Nita Mu *5 ṣa-al-mu* [19]*napḫar 2 ṣ[í-m]i-it-tum sīsē*[meš] [20]*a-na qāt* .... (Rev.) [21]*ša* [Uru]....*-e(?) nadnū*[nu]

[22]*2 sīsē*[meš] Nita Mu *3 sāmu* [23]*am-qa-ma-an-nu* [24]*1 sīsū* Nita Mu *7 am-qa-[ma-an]-nu* [25]*1 sīsū* Nita Mu *4 ṣa-al-mu* [26]*napḫar 2 ṣí-mi-it-tum sīsē*[meš] [27]*a-na qāt* [m]*el-ḫi-ip-til-la nadnū*[nu]

[28]*1 sīsū* Mu *5 am-qa-ma-an-nu* [29]*1 sīsū* Mu *5 sāmu* [30]*an-nu-tum a-[n]a* .... *mu-šá-pu nadnū*[nu]

[31]*napḫar 20 sīsē*[meš] *an-nu-tum* [32]*a-šar tamkarrē*[meš] *a-na ēkalli* [33]*ma-aḫ-ru*

PLATE OF AUTOGRAPHED SIGNS



[An asterisk (*) in the text refers to this plate.]

PART II

TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARY

BY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR = The ANNUAL
AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung
AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
BAW = Meissner, Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch
CT = Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum
FL = Speiser, New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws, AASOR 10.1-73
Gadd = Tablets from Kirkuk, RA 23.50 ff.
H I = Harvard Semitic Series V
H II = Harvard Semitic Series IX
H III = Harvard Semitic Series X
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society
KAV = Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts
KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
KUB = Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
MVAG = Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft
MPND = Cross, D., Movable Property in the Nuzi Documents, American Oriental Series 10
N = Chiera, Excavations at Nuzi, volumes I-V
NKRA = Koschaker, Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der el-Amarna-Zeit
OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OPNA = Berkooz, M., The Orthography and Phonology of Nuzi Akkadian, Language Dissertation Series 23
RA = Revue d'Assyriologie
RLA = Reallexikon der Assyriologie
ŠL = Deimel, Šumerisches Lexikon
SMN = Nuzi Texts in the Harvard Semitic Museum
TCL = Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZAW = Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

PART II

INTRODUCTION

Few remarks are required to indicate the methods employed in the following pages. The lines of the Akkadian text have been marked at intervals of five. To that extent the requirements of Akkadian syntax had to be recognized, with results that will not always be pleasing to English ears.

In all italicized phrases normalized linguistic transliteration has been employed. Otherwise, proper names are given in conventionalized spelling, with the following exception: *h* has been provided with a hook after *p*'s and *t*'s, in order to avoid confusion in an English context. Determinatives are usually confined to the translations. "City" is marked by a *c*, "woman" by an *f*, both suspended; they are omitted in the notes (except in italicized passages), and the determinative for "man" is omitted also in the translation.

Only longer gaps or uncertain supplements have been indicated by means of brackets. All other textual details are noted in Dr. Pfeiffer's edition in Part I of the present volume.* All the texts in the present study are referred to in the notes by means of No., or without any special identification.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Pfeiffer for enabling me to make use of his transliterations of the remaining one hundred texts, which could not be included in this work. I am also grateful to Dr. Lacheman for supplying me with a number of his own transliterations and for collating a series of passages during Dr. Pfeiffer's absence from Cambridge.

A. The People of Nuzi vs. Mayor Kushshiharbe

(Nos. 1-14)

Among the texts selected for the present volume there is a small group (Nos. 1-14) which promises to attract the attention of many who may not be concerned otherwise with the Nuzi records as such. The fourteen texts which make up this group combine to form a document that is of unique interest to the student of ancient history, and especially to the historian of ancient government.

The subject matter is alleged offenses on the part of Kushshiharbe,[1] Mayor

* [For minor differences in transcription and method, see Introduction to Part I. Some of these might have been composed but for my absence from the country. E. A. S.]

[1] The initial sound of this name is reproduced in three ways. In addition to the

of the city of Nuzi, and of several of his henchmen. The list of allegations is a long one, but it has enough variety to prevent it from becoming wearisome. The recital is by no means systematic. Each text records one or more depositions against the chief magistrate and his underlings. In many instances the replies of the accused are also recorded, but no verdict is mentioned. We have thus evidently before us the customary preliminary briefs,[2] upon which the decision is to be based.

The personnel of the court is not the same throughout. In seven instances the depositions are taken by two judges,[3] twice by a single judge,[4] and in one particularly serious case (No. 4) the document contains the names of three judges in addition to the signature of the scribe. In another document the name of the scribe alone is appended (No. 12), while two texts have no names of either officials or scribe [5]; finally, No. 13 is damaged at the end where the official names are expected. These variations in the size and composition of the official body lead to the conclusion that the Kushshiharbe case lasted a long time, since it required many hearings.

It goes without saying that the fourteen texts under discussion do not exhaust the original material on the subject; they merely constitute all that is available at present. But it should be borne in mind that accidents of discovery, preservation, and decipherment are always factors in matters of this kind. It scarcely can escape notice that the actual verdict has not come down to us, even though a reasonably safe guess can be made about the outcome of the trial, as will be seen presently.

Before we proceed to a brief review of the case against Kushshiharbe, it is in order to point out the essential difference between the present texts and the bulk of the Nuzi material published thus far. Most of the tablets relating to Kushshiharbe were unearthed by Dr. Chiera during the season of 1927/28 in Room 2 of Building C, which was situated on the mound of Yarghān (Tepe)

normal *k* (the present occurrences are: 2.5, 9; 5.35; 9.6; 13.6), we find *g* (N 46.23), and *ḫ* (3.2 ff.; 4.7 ff.; 7.20 ff., 8.38, 42; 10.5). The variation of *k* and *ḫ* (found also in a number of other names; cf. Berkooz, OPNA, under "Velars") is particularly significant. It can be accounted for only on the assumption that the stop in question was strongly aspirated in this dialect (*kh*); for the possibility of a similar condition in Hattic, cf. Friedrich, AfO 11.78. Of importance, in view of the Kassite origin of Kushshiharbe, may be in this connection the name [d]*Ḫar-du-ni-*[*aš*], KAV 51 b 3; but cf. dḪAR-*Nuzu*, SMN 2563.2, 7, 11, 15 (supplied by Dr. Lacheman).

[2] I. e., *tuppi taḫsil/sti*, though the name is never used in this series of documents.

[3] Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, and 14. It is interesting, and possibly not due to mere coincidence, that Paya is invariably one of them.

[4] Nos. 3 and 6, the judge being the same both times (Haishteshup).

[5] Nos. 9 and 13.

proper. On the other hand, all but two [6] of the documents published in JEN I-V and H I-II had come from two houses on the plain near the foot of the mound. Those houses were private dwellings, regardless of the official positions which their inhabitants may have held. Their epigraphic contents constituted private family archives. But the buildings on the mound were given over to religious and administrative purposes, and their libraries were consequently of a public nature. The trial of the highest city official was naturally a matter of public concern, and the records of that affair would have been out of place in the residence of a Tehiptilla, a Zigi, or an Ilanu. Once again, then, archaeological results are in full accord with the internal evidence of the inscriptions.

The name and position of Kushshiharbe have been known to us for some time from documents previously published. The private archives have introduced this personage as the most publicized mayor (*ḫazyānu, ḫazannu*) of Nuzi. The relevant passages are listed below.

N 13.21-2: *ù i-na ú-[mi]-šu ina* URU*Nu-zi* I*Ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be ḫa-za-an-nu* "And at the time Kushshiharbe was mayor of Nuzi."

N 31.37-8: *un-tù* I*Ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be i-na* URU*Nu-zi ḫa-zi-a-an-nu* "When, etc."

N 46.23-4: *ù šu-un-tu*$_4$ I*Gu-ši-ḫar-be ina* URU*Nu-zi ḫa-za-an-nu-ta i-pu-uš ù [i-na] ūmi-šu* I*Te-[ḫi-ip-ti]la qa-aq-qa-ru an-nu-ú il-qì* "And at the time Kushshiharbe held the position of mayor in Nuzi, and during his time Tehiptilla received this ground."

N 231.31-2: *Ki-ma* I*Ku-uš-[ši-]ḫar-be ḫa-za-an-nu ina u*$_4$*-mi-šu ša-ṭi-ir* "When Kushshiharbe was mayor, during his time (this) was written."

N 257.21-2: *tup-pu an-nu-ú ki-ma* I*Ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be ḫa-za-an-nu ina* URU*Nu-zi* "This tablet (was written) when Kushshiharbe was mayor of Nuzi."

N 455. 30-2: *šattu ki-ma tup-pu ša-aṭ-rù* I*Ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be ha-za-an-nu-ú ina* URU*Nu-zi* "The year when the tablet was written Kushshiharbe was mayor of Nuzi."

No other mayor is mentioned as frequently or as elaborately. In fact, the other mayors are merely listed as witnesses,[7] though their names are sometimes allowed to head the list as a possible concession to their rank (N 292.37; H I 21.12.).[8] The Nuzi date formulae seem thus in effect to have been restricted

[6] H II 23 and 81.

[7] Ehlipapu, H I 67.58 and 96.28; but cf. N 440.16 and CT II 21.27; Geltilla, H I 21.12; Paitilla, N 292.37; Teshurhi, 433-37; U(?)miya, N 174.10 (merely father of a witness).

[8] Ehlipapu (N 440.16) and Teshurhi appear in their official capacity as officers in whose presence documents are made out.

to the time of Kushshiharbe. The reason for this treatment is not immediately apparent. To be sure, as events turned out, the administration of Kushshiharbe was to prove both notorious and memorable; but this situation could not have been anticipated by the scribes who employed the formulae while the mayor was still in office. The explanation must be sought elsewhere, and onomastic evidence appears here to provide a plausible clue. The name Kushshiharbe is distinctly, one might even say ostentatiously, Kassite.[9] The other known mayors, on the other hand, viz., Teshurhi, [U]miya, Ehlipapu, Geltilla, and Paitilla bore names that are typically Hurrian. Being a Babylonian in origin, Kushshiharbe might have been expected to introduce a system of dating that was so typical of the South. How and why a foreigner became the head of the municipal government at Nuzi, and whether the subsequent resentment against him was due in any measure to his supercilious behavior as a " civilized " Babylonian at the head of an " unenlightened " and " native " community, are questions that had better be left alone; speculation about them may prove interesting, but hardly profitable.

We are fortunately in a position to establish the relative date of Kushshiharbe's administration. All the documents that mention his name involve that other notorious Nuzian, Tehiptilla son of Puhishenni, who represents the first active generation which the Nuzi documents introduce to us. The period of Kushshiharbe antedates thus the times of Ennamati and of Takku, respectively son and grandson of Tehiptilla.[10] In terms of less localized chronology, Kushshiharbe must have held office, therefore, during the latter part of the reign of Saushshatar of Mitanni.[11] And this gives us the beginning of the fifteenth century B. C. as our absolute date.

Practically all of the charges against Kushshiharbe fall under the same general category; their burden is corruption. Misappropriation of crown property appears to have been a common offense (cf. No. 1). Thus Kushshiharbe is accused of having used labor gangs from feudal camps[12] for his private purposes; of diverting tax collections to his own use; and of adorning

[9] The first element is identical with the *Kuššu* which appears in the ethnicon KUR*Kuuš-šu-ḫa-i,* H I 37.6 and KUR*Ku-u*[*š*]-*šu-u*[*ḫ*]-*ḫa-ú,* N 529.16, and varies only in its first vowel from the *Kaššū* of the remaining cuneiform sources. It is worthy of notice that Greek Κοσσαῖοι presents the intermediate vowel form, while *Ḫarbe* is equated with Enlil in the Kassite god list.

[10] Cf. the Introduction to Group B.

[11] See H II 1, seal, and cf. JAOS 49.269-75. The addressee of that letter (Iṯḫiya, who figures as King in N 289.31) is apparently the son of King Kipi-Teshup, N I 82.29, a contemporary of Winnirgi; cf. Koschaker, ZA N F 9.201.

[12] For this value of *dīmtu,* cf. note to 1.5.

his home in Anzugallu with a gate fashioned from wood belonging to the palace. His excuses appear to be lame indeed: he was unaware of the employment of feudal labor, and the lumber used by him was his own property. The latter argument is promptly contradicted by his own carpenter. It was doubtless owing to practices of this sort that a mayor of Nuzi, who was supposed to represent the interests of the King, acquired the means to maintain homes in Anzugallu and perhaps also elsewhere.

Emboldened by initial successes, Kushshiharbe extended his lawless activities. He accepted bribes (No. 2), even though they might be calculated to interfere with normal legal procedure (No. 9.) He used the property of private citizens to pay the wages of his own workers, and to fertilize his gardens; those who dared to resist his emissaries were cowed into submission by threats of violence (No. 3). A poor wretch assigned to one of Kushshiharbe's farms was fined because he had the effrontery to spend the night in his own house after a hard day's work on the farm (No. 8).

It may have suited Kushshiharbe's purposes to have some thin legal excuse for his palpably unfair practices. But his henchmen felt little need of resorting to disguises of this kind. In Peshkilishu,[13] Kipiya, Zilipapu, Hashipapu, and a number of minor figures, the mayor had a band of worthy assistants. Kidnapping seems to have been a favorite and highly profitable sport. Zilipapu collects ransom from the brother of a victim, while Peshkilishu has another victim flogged until he is ready to pay the ransom for his abducted wife (No. 3). Another kidnapping case, instigated by the same Peshkilishu, paves the way for further crimes. The victim hailed evidently from a distant locality. His brothers raised the ransom and set out to free the captive. Arrived in the city of Arrapḫa, they hired one of the local men to conduct them to the specified place. After the ransom (called "travelling provisions" with what was probably unconscious humor) had been paid, one of the rescuers was slain by brigands and the local guide was kidnapped in turn. Before the surviving brothers were allowed to leave, an indemnity had to be paid to the father of the captured guide (No. 8).

The above case illustrates, incidentally, the size of the territory in which these bandits operated, a territory extending far beyond the confines of Nuzi. This may explain the otherwise puzzling circumstances that Hashipapu is also introduced as a mayor (No. 7), against whose activities a futile appeal is made to Kushshiharbe. We cannot but regard Hashipapu as the mayor of some neighboring city. In that case it will hardly be anachronistic to speak of an extensive and highly organized partnership between government and crime.

[13] On this name, see 3.56, note.

Some of the penalties reported by the plaintiffs in this suit of the People vs. Kushshiharbe were imposed for what were on the surface legitimate reasons. Thus sheep had to be furnished for alleged failure to provide carts for the work of the palace (No. 6), and for negligence in repairing a broken bridge (No. 7). But the reason given for one of the fines is certain to cause some amusement: the victim was penalized for allegedly mixing his milk with water (No. 6)!

Although the verdict is not recorded in the tablets at hand, there need be little doubt as to the ultimate decision. For in addition to the charges reviewed thus far, there is one which the accused does not face with composure. According to No. 4, Kushshiharbe was guilty of immoral behavior with one Humerelli. He defends himself with unusual vehemence. But his protestations are likely to fall upon deaf ears. For the offence was committed twice, different agents being employed to bring Humerelli to the trysting place on each occasion; and one of these agents, now turned accuser, is Ziliptilla, once a prominent member of Kushshiharbe's staff of assistants.

This composite record of the arraignment of Kushshiharbe is illuminating in many respects. It throws considerable light on social and political conditions in the land of Arrapḫa during the middle of the second millennium, at a time when the Hurrian settlement in this section was of comparatively recent date and the people shared the advantages and disadvantages of a pioneering community. The attendant abuses of officials were scarcely novel or unique then, and they have since been duplicated on innumerable occasions. But it is seldom that one finds a record of such conditions at once so vivid and so ingenuous. And the implications are fully as interesting as the specified details. For in spite of his arrogation of dictatorial powers and the perfection of an efficient organization, Kushshiharbe could be and ultimately was brought to trial to answer for his deeds. On final analysis, few civilizations can be given a higher endorsement than that of Nuzi as it was thirty-five hundred years ago.

1

Thus Turari: "Thirty (pieces) of [*ampanna*]-wood were placed in the gate, and Kushshiharbe [took them away]."

Thus Kushshiharbe: "I did not take [them]!" Thus again Turari: "Thirty feudal tenants from (5) the districts barley from the palace [...] and for Kushshiharbe sesame and millet planted, and collected the *ampanna*-wood."

Thus Kushshiharbe: "I sent out Ziliptilla and thus I (said), 'Sesame and millet plant [..] (10) There is an *imēr* of sesame and (some) millet that can be planted; and gather also *ampanna*-wood.' But as for the thirty feudal tenants from the districts, I know nothing about them.'"

Thus Palteya: "Forty (pieces) of *šaššugu*-wood belonging to the [palace] Hutiya the carpenter took away (15) and made a door for Kushshiharbe; and (that) door for Kushshiharbe's house in ᶜAnzugallu [he made?]; [and I] transported that wood."

Thus Kushshiharbe: "The wood was mine, so I gave it to be made into a door; (20) and wood belonging to the palace for the making of a door I did not give out!"

Thus Hutiya the carpenter: "I made the door. (Some) wood from ᶜAnzugallu Shahluteshup to me delivered, and the rest of the wood from ᶜNuzi he delivered to me. And as for that wood, (25) I knew that it belonged to the palace, but I made it into a door for Kushshiharbe."

Thus Hashipapu: "Two yokes for wagon-tongues and two harnesses Kushshiharbe placed in my hands and thus he, namely Kushshiharbe, thus (spoke), 'Oil from [the men] (30) who are in your charge exact, and fix the wagon-tongues.' And I oil from the men in my charge exacted(?) and applied it to them (i. e., the wagon-tongues)."

Thus Shahluteshup: "Concerning the two yokes for wagon-tongues which Kushshiharbe gave to Hashipapu for oiling, (35) I indeed thus (spoke), 'You yourself ordered the oiling (saying), 'Oil from the men in your charge exact and apply.'"

Thus Kushshiharbe: "I did not say to Shahluteshup, 'Oil for the wagon-tongues and the harnesses from the city exact'!"

(40) Thus Hashipapu: "The houses [...] were sealed up, but Kushshiharbe broke their seals and stripped (them) clean."

Thus Kushshiharbe: "The seals [of the houses] Hashipapu himself broke and the house[s he stripped clean]!"

(45) Thus Hashipapu: "Tehupshenni and Unaptae *x* [..] stole and be-

fore(?) the judges [..] and Kushshiharbe [..] Ziliptilla [.] according to (50) the declaration of Turari [..] and his bribe the foes of [..]" Kushshiharbe took. Thus Kushshiharbe: "The bribes of Tehupshenni and Unaptae I did not [take]!"

(55-6) Seals of Partasua and Piri-Ashshura.

1. The term *ampanna* has to be considered in common with *šaššugu* (with the variant *šik/gišu*, H II 12.9, Sumerian ŠEMUŠ, cf. Thompson, Assyrian Herbal 186), and *šakkullu*, (cf. 85.3 and Götze, Neue Bruchstücke zum grossen Texte des Hattušiliš p. 60), all with the determinative GIŠ. All three do or can refer to certain types of wood. Knudtzon, *Amarna* 22 IV 25 mentions *10 ap-pa-na-an-nu* made of bronze, which could not be related to the present term. The Amarna word has probably its counterpart, as Dr. Lacheman informs me, in Nuzi *ap-pa-nu*, perhaps "shrine" or part thereof. On the other hand, our *ampanna* is paralleled by Nuzi GIŠ*am-pa-an-nu* (SMN 61 passim), of which carts (*ṣumbu*) are made.

5. In this line and in line 12 we have a satisfactory explanation of the significance of the *dimtu*. It now becomes clear that such districts were organized and distinguished primarily for the purposes of feudal service and taxes. In other words, they were government districts. Incidentally, this throws light on such texts as N 135 and 321, where the name of the person after whom a given district is known is being ascertained; such an eponym and his heirs were in some way connected with the collections, a responsibility that was probably not without profit. The significance of these texts has been misunderstood by Gordon, RA 33.1-6.

6. The verb is here and in lines 9 and 10 *erēšu* "plant, cultivate."

22. Note the writing URU*An-zu-qa-al-li*, with the third syllable spelled out. The final vowel is that of the genitive, just as in *Nuzi*; the latter name, however, has attained too much currency to be changed now to *Nuzu*.

27. For the combination of *ṣimittu* and *sa/ud(d)innu*, cf. HARRA-*ḫubullum* V, col. I 67-8 (Meissner, Assyriologische Forschungen I 21).

28. In *kušpaḫḫu* we have a Sumerian loanword the value of which ("harness," or the like) is as yet absent from Sumerian lexicons. The first syllable indicates that the object in question was made of leather (KUŠ), provided that the word is not Hurrian in origin. That this is not so may be seen from Sumerian KUŠPAḪ/LUL, cf. Deimel, ŠL 355.14. The reading PAḪ is supported ibid. 35, not to speak of our word in this text and in 11.17 (*ku-uz-pa-aḫ-ḫa*). Moreover, Deimel, loc. cit. 24 is equated with *libbu ša zībānītim*, where *z.* is surely a synonym of *gišrinnu* and *ṣimittu*, cf. Meissner, op. cit. p. 31, and not "scale," which meaning that word possesses otherwise (the semantic connection between the two values is through "cross-piece"). Finally, the pictographic form of the sign LUL/PAḪ is that of the head and neck of an equid (Deimel, loc. cit. No. 1), so that the value "harness" for KUŠPAḪ-*kušpaḫḫu* becomes self-evident. Thus, strangely enough, the Nuzi texts contribute to our understanding of a Sumerian term, something that one would scarcely expect of them.

31. For the reading *ušteddin*, cf. 7.50.

34. With *maḫāṣu* we are obviously to understand *šamna* or *ina šamni*.

42. The employment of *mašāru* in the sense of "rob (a house)" is interesting especially because of the connection of this verb with *galābu*, which has the same specialized meaning; cf. 10.22 and N II 125.3, 16. Both verbs share the ideogram DUBBIN

and the value "cut." In the present application the verb must have the underlying value of "shave, strip clean, ransack." For the bearing of this passage on the phrase *qanna imtašar*, cf. note to 32.8.

46. The text seems to have ŠAḪ-*ma-ru*, which may perhaps represent *giššimaruma-ru* "date-palm." But the theft of such a cumbersome object would not be easy to understand; cf., however, the theft of trees reported in H II 12.

2

[Thus Ninuari: "Two shekels of gold to Taishenni I] gave and in the threshing space he placed me (?)." (5) Thus (said) ⟨he⟩: "Kushshiharbe took the two shekels of gold." Thus Ninuari: "To Taishenni I gave (it):" Thus Taishenni: "The two shekels of gold to Kushshiharbe (10) I gave. One ox and two sheep for my harvest remained (?), but all was taken away."

4. Note *uštēšiwanni* for *uštešibanni*; cf. *w/bagnu*, NI 128.14. For the meaning, cf. *uštēšibuš*, 6.53.

12. The force of this phrase appears to be that of an infinitive absolute, though the syntax is far from clear; *kīmē ukālma ukāl*, 21.15 and 32.14, is not an exact analogue.

3

Thus Zi[liptilla]: "One TUM.LAL-garment of *martadu* and one sheep to Kushshiharbe I gave. And he said, 'I shall make [you] *x*.' Those [goods?] he took, (5) but he did not make me *x*."

Thus Kintar from the village of Annishu: "One cart, five shekels of purified silver, one bowl (weighing) 3 minas, 30 shekels of bronze, 1 garment, two plucked sheep, now these (10) Ziliptilla took away. And Ziliptilla demanded from Kirirukazzi barley *ša bu-ri*. One sheep he took away and [..] *imēr* of barley *ša bu-ri* from the Merchants' district in his own house he stored [..]" (15) Thus Haniyu son of Zuliptilla: "[..] *x* [..] locked me up and thus he (spoke), 'Bring one sheep as payment of a fine.' He accepted one pig and released my brother."

Thus Ninuari: "Kushshiharbe (20) removed me from my threshing floor. Two shekels of gold, one ox, and two male sheep I gave to Kushshiharbe and he allowed me to return."

Thus Tehiya: "Stored barley representing the (yield from) one(?) *imēr* (and) five *aweḫaru* of land, and its straw (25) Kushshiharbe by force took away and gave to Hamanna, the carpenter."

Thus Mar-Ishtar: "The manure for one *imēr*, five *aweḫaru* of land the gardener of Kushshiharbe took away (from me). (30) Thus I (said), 'Why do you take away my manure?' And thus he (spoke), 'As for you, he has

ordered you to be flogged, and your district he has ordered to be devastated.' I became frightened (35) and (so) he removed (it)."

Thus Waratteya: "Shukriteshup appointed me in charge of pasturing(?). In the gate he imprisoned [me]. (40) Hashipapu placed me in the tower(?), took one male sheep and then released me. Kipiya son of Apeya, my shepherd, he flogged, took two sheep (and) one kid. (45) Artashenni he placed in [...], [.] mina(s) of [..] one *ziyanatu*, [.] couch, (48-50 destroyed)."

(51) Thus [..]: "One splendid [..] and one garment [..] Kushshiharbe took by force and kept (it)."

Thus Tup[piya] "[.. Hash]ipapu (55) flogged [me] and took one sheep."

Thus Paya: "[...] my wife(?) Peshki-ilishu in [....]. I was going to worship(?) (when) he seized me and forty lashes (60) with a rod he smote me. I paid him two sheep and one mina(?) of lead, and he released my wife. Hashipapu entered my *mupaniru*(?) in [..], (65) two *imēr* of barley, five measures of wheat, and one male sheep he took by force."

(66-67) Seals of Haishteshup and Paya.

1. That TUM.LAL is a kind of garment is shown by its occurrence with the determinative TÚG, cf. Deimel, *ŠL* 208.35. The word *martadu/tu* is common in the Nuzi documents. Dr. Lacheman has noted a number of its occurrences in the SMN texts, where it is found with *ḫullānu, kusītu*, as *m.ša Gišerši*, etc. Evidently, then, *m.* signifies some kind of material.

6. The name *An-ni-šu* could be read *ilu-išū*, which is suggested by the common writing DINGIR.TUG; but the matter is not settled as yet.

9. The form *baqittu*, with assimilation of *n*, is interesting. Contrast *bá-qí-ma-tù*, H I 14.9.

11. Barley described as *ša bu-ri* is mentioned also in Gadd 81.2. Does it mean "stored in the silo"?

20. For *maškanu*, cf. Goetze, AJSL 52.154 f. The verb which follows is probably III/II formation from *rāqu* and not a form of *šarāqu*; cf. line 35, where it appears to be used in a transitive sense.

24. A comparison of *ma-la imēr* in this line with *1 imēr* in line 28 would favor the assumption that *mala* is one of the Hurrian terms for "one." If the word is taken as Akkadian, difficulties arise on both semantic and syntactic grounds. But *ma-la* is occasionally preceded by *1* (H I 39.16); this is not the place, however, to discuss the problem adequately.

36. A comparison of related proper names shows that *Waratteya* contains the element *warad*.

37. For *ana r.*, a reference to line 43 seems to be pertinent. That ŠÚK is the correct reading of the sign MUK in proper names (here *Šúk-ri-te-šup*) was discovered by Chiera and indicated as early as JAOS 47.57 (line 39). The remarks to the same effect made by Langdon, RA 31.190, coming as they did seven years later, are therefore out of place.

40. The above translation of *nupari* (cf. also *bīt nu-ba-*[*ri*] 12.12) is purely a guess based on a tentative equation of the word with *napurru*. Equally plausible would be

the translation "prison," and the suggested etymology is not essential to it. That the word has nothing to do with *nub/pāru*, synonym of *libbu* (cf. Meissner, BAW II 49 f.), is obvious from the context.

47. For a discussion of *ziyanatu*, cf. Feigin, AJSL 51.26 ff. A convincing explanation of the term is still wanting.

56. For the name *Peški-ili-šu*, cf. note at 8.2.

60. The synonym *ḫuṭāru* (Aramaic loanword?) for the usual *ḫattu* is worth noting.

4

Thus Ziliptilla: "Last year ᶠPizatu made ᶠHumerelli stay with her(?). I and Shimitilla (5) went over at night, we called to her and brought her to the place of Kushshiharbe; and he slept with her." Thus Kushshiharbe: "No! (10) Emphatically no! Not a word (of it is true)! I did not sleep with her!"

Thus Palteya: "I called to Humerelli (and) took her over to the *ḫurizati*-house of ᶠTilunnaya; (15) and Kushshiharbe slept with her." Thus Kushshiharbe: "(May I perish) if ᶠHumerelli to the *ḫurizati*-house of Tilunnaya (20) Palteya did bring over that I might sleep with her!"

(22-25) Three seals. Signature of Nabū-ilu, the scribe.

2. For *ina šattaqda*, cf. *Ki-mu-ú ša-at-ta-aq-di*, 8.34 and *Kibātu ša ša(!)-at-ta-aq-di* "last year's wheat," N 546.7.

3. *urteimmišu*: this particular form of *ramū* seems to have here the sense of "making one's home," or "being made to stay with." It clearly suits the context.

13. For (*bīt*)*ḫurizati*, cf. N. 105.8 (land of); obviously related or identical is *ḫu-ri-zi-na* (wall of), SMN 2603.7. A connection with *ḫurāṣu* is, of course, out of the question. Quite plausible, on the other hand, is the relationship of our word with the Assyrian *ḫuruš* and *bīt ḫuruš* (note the same flexibility in attaching *bīt*), or *ḫurše/i*, cf. Weidner, in Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige, p. 91 note 3. From some such general meaning as "the house of provisions," the term develops, through its association with Ishtar, into a popular synonym of *bīt aš/ltamme* "house of women, brothel" (ibid.). With the addition of the present passage, both values of *ḫuruš* are now found also in the Nuzi *ḫurizati/ḫurizina*, i. e., that of a public or religious department, and that of a "harem."

5

Thus the soldiers of ᶜNuzi: "Ninety-two sheep Kipiya received. Neither did he take them to the palace nor yet (5) did he return them to us." Thus Kipiya: "Ninety sheep as fines for the carts we received. And from among them, seven sheep were prepared (10) in the orchard and the soldiers of ᶜNuzi ate them." And thus the soldiers of ᶜNuzi: "We did not eat the meat!" Thus Paya, Utaya, (15) and Kawinni: "We ate the meat."

Thus the soldiers of ᶜNuzi: "One hundred and fifty(?) sheep for *išsisi* [Kipiya] (yearly) exacts. (20) And whenever his sheep are many, for

copper he accepts them as payment. Sixty sheep in [..] for *iššisi* they prepared (25) and ninety (of the?) sheep they ate."

Thus Kipiya: "When the *iššisi* sheep which I exact are many, the sheep may reach (30) one hundred (in number), and when they are few they reach seventy or sixty. And from among [..] the sixty sheep that have been counted, [.] for *iššisi* I ate, and the remaining sheep (35) Kushshiharbe ate; and as payment for copper I did not exact them."

(37-38) Seals of Paya and Haishteshup.

3. The sense of *šumma lā . . . šumma lā* is manifestly "neither . . nor." The imprecative connotation is absent this time since the *lā* retains its negative force.

4. In *an-na-aš-ni* we have the dative pronoun of the first person plural parallel to *a-na na-aš-ni*, N 156.15; 171.12, as seen by Gordon, AJSL 51.3 note 3. The origin of this Nuzian form is as yet ambiguous.

18 ff. The meaning of *iššisi* (cf. also 12.8) is unfortunately obscure. The term is used in connection with sheep, and some form of tax is apparently designated thereby. Lines 27 ff. make it clear that income from this particular source varied considerably from year to year.

6

Thus Huite: "Seventeen of my sheep Kipiya took for one day only. Thus he, 'The sheep are for the palace.' Verily, for (the work) of the palace he did not deliver them (5) nor did he indeed return them to me."

Thus Kipiya: "Kipaya, the shepherd of Giliya, went out to pasture and thus he, 'These seventeen sheep belong to the palace; and Arimmatka with (10) [..]apu sent me.' And we seized those sheep. And [...] Arimmatka locked them up, and [...] to the palace(?) he did not deliver them. And among those seventeen sheep he had taken five (15) from Shukriya. And Kipaya, the shepherd, accepted from Shukriya one bowl(?) and (his) sheep he released."

Thus Arimmatka: (20) "Seventeen [sheep] Kipiya brought [...] Nihriya [...] into the hands of [Kipi]ya delivered them. [..] five sheep from Shukriya (25) he had taken and from among the seventeen sheep [...] he released them."

Thus Shukriya: "Four [sheep] Kipiya took away; and from among those sheep two [sheep] (30) he released and two sheep he kept. Thus he, 'And why indeed do you bring your milk to be diluted with water?'"

Thus Kipiya: "Arimmatka sent me and thus he, 'Why did not the carts (35) of Kiriya go down to the fields of the palace? Go and seize four of his sheep.' I went and seized four sheep and (40) to Arimmatka I brought them. Two of his sheep he (subsequently) released, but his (other) two sheep in the threshing space of the palace Hutiya, the farmer(?) cooked and the men who drive the carts ate them.'"

(45) Thus Arimmatka: "Yes, I sent him."

And thus the men who drive his carts: "We did not eat them!"

Thus Ipshahalu: "Shukriya, (50) the man in charge of sheep, one of my sheep took away; Shukriya removed it and in the same month Kipiya put it away (?) and another sheep Kipiya took."

(55) Thus Kipiya: "No indeed! An(other) sheep of his in that month I did not take! On the afore-mentioned day (only) one of sheep of his I took."

Thus Zikanta: (60) "I was coming back from the land of Hanigalbat, when Kipiya took away my clothes. Two *imēr* of barley I had to give him, and my clothes he released."

Thus Kipiya: "One kid (65) [...] Tultukka on loan [..] and Zikanta [...] Tultukka I gave. The two *imēr* of barley I did not take."

(69-70) Signature of Hutiya, the scribe. Seal of Haishteshup.

7. The meaning of *mu-ru-ti* in this passage is established by the correspondence of LÚ*re'u* in this line with LÚ*mu-ru* in line 16. It is probable that *mūru* has this value throughout and not that of *mue'rru*, as I formerly assumed.

7

Thus Akapshenni: "The messenger of the palace came to me and said, 'On account of the bridge which broke down (5) produce two sheep, the mayor's fine.' And I took from Arimmatka two male sheep, on loan, and to Ulluya, the *šuanaṯḫu*, (10) I delivered (them), and he took them over to the palace. And as for me, Hashipapu, the mayor, dispatched me together with Giliya to the Kayari district and he caused 12 sheep to be seized (15) and we brought them to the house of Hashipapu, and they were held there. And now, after the harvest, Arimmatka has been setting the law against me on account of (those) two sheep. (20) I appealed to Kushshiharbe, but he would not heed me."

Thus Akapshenni: "Two sheep, so sick that they were about to die, Ehliteshup to the hand of my brother (25) delivered. Thus he, 'They belong to Kushshiharbe, so do you revive them.' And because he had handed them over and they died, I eight *imēr* of land into *ditennūtu* (30) to the son of Arzizza gave and received two sheep, which I handed over to Ehlipapu."

(35) Thus Ehlipapu: "I did not deliver (the sheep)! Hashipapu himself delivered them, and Hashipapu, too, took back (the others)!"

Thus Hanatu: "I was roofing the house (40) and spreading reed-matting over the cross-beams. Ziliptilla and a slave of Kushshiharbe came over and of the entire(?) matting (45) they stripped the house. And Kushshiharbe took away the reed mats."

Thus Tehiptilla: "Hashipapu clothing (50) for the *ubāru*-men was collecting. The clothing of the others was replaced, but my garments he kept."

Thus Tuppiya: "(55) One male sheep Ziliptilla took away, cooked it in his house, and ate it."

(58-59) Seals of Haishteshup and Paya.

9. For the occupational term *šuanatḫu*, cf. *LÚšu-a-na-at-ḫu*, N 462.21. The correspondence with the *mār šipru*, line 2, is possible, but not definite.

20. The verb *ḫanānu* is used here in the sense of "seek mercy," rather than "have mercy." In other words, the meaning is that of the Arabic tenth conjugation. Curiously enough, we find also in the same sense the form *uštuḫeḫin* (cf. N 321.8, and ZA NF 9.205; see also 71.2) with what might appear like the preformative of that conjugation; this is even more noticeable in the prefix *išt-* of the Amarna occurrences of the same verb (cf., Knudtzon, Index 1508). However, the repeated *ḫ* precludes so simple an explanation. For some years I have regarded this Amarna and Nuzi verb as a "blending" of two distinct roots, viz., *šaḫū* or *šaḫāḫu* "be low, prostrate" and *ḫanānu* "be gracious, merciful." The present appearance of a clear form of *ḫananu* strongly supports this assumption. The origin of the component elements would be West Semitic; the combination may well have been effected under Hurrian influence.

29. To judge from the context, *imēr* is probably an error for *aweḫaru*. The juristic significance of *ditennūtu* is now clear enough, thanks especially to the studies of Koschaker. The transaction is based on antichretic security. The principal remaining difficulty is etymological. Koschaker (Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wis. 42.1.87) regards the word as Hurrian and translates it as "usufruct." One of my objections to this translation is that the money for the loan of which such security is required may also be given into *ditennūtu*, cf. 62.8. In JAOS 52.350 ff. I arrived at the translation "possession." Inasmuch, however, as the basic connotation of the term leaves no longer any room for doubt, with the question of etymology alone remaining to be settled, I leave the term untranslated in this volume.

40. *pu-ú-ra* represents here *burū* "reed-matting," for which see Meissner, MVAG 12.162. GIš*parisātu* is found also in H II 17.3.

45. The meaning of *kawatumma epēšu* is conjectured from the context.

50. For *ubāru*, cf. note at 83.4. In the present passage the position of the *u.* is entirely different from that of "the Ambassador from Hanigalbat," so that we may operate here with the original meaning of the term, viz., "sojourner."

8

Thus Itḫishta: "One brother of mine Peshkillishu took away and for *ḫušaurūtu* to ᶜHashikuwa he brought him. A month he was there (5), the second month he did not release him, and (so) in the third month two of my brothers took with them provisions and went forth. On reaching the district of Shilahish they hired a man from ᶜArrapḫa. (10) One of my brothers he took (with him) and they left taking the provisions to ᶜHashikuwa. My brother who had taken the provisions hostile men slew, but the man from the City of the Gods they carried off alive. (15) And the father of the man

from the City of the Gods came over and my [remaining] brother he seized and said, 'You hired my son and (now) hostile men have taken him away.' He accepted three sheep, one [..] -garment, [.] mina(s) of copper, and one mixing bowl of [bronze] (20) and he released my brother." Thus Naniya: "My brother Ithipari was stationed in ᶜTurtaniya; and Peshkillishu released him from his feudal work, taking one maid, one complete ox-hide (25) and *ḫalwatru*-wood for two yokes as bribe."

Thus ᶠHinzuri the wife of Ziliya: "I gave to Peshkil(l)ishu a sheep as a fee and thus I (said), 'With regard to my lands (30) attend to my lawsuit with Kariru.' My lawsuit he did not conduct. I spoke (to him) about my sheep, and he smote me and my sheep he kept; furthermore, he seized me and took six minas of copper. Thus (35) he (said), 'For last year I am taking (it).'"

Thus Huya: "One woolly ewe Peshkil(l)ishu took away."

Thus Hashiya: "For farm work they assigned me to Kushshiharbe. (40) All day I would till and at night I would go to my house. And Unaptarni, a servant of Kushshiharbe, seized me and thus he (spoke), 'Why do you go to your house?' And one garment(?) *x x* (45) he took away. And Peshkil(l)ishu also seized me and to Iniya for eight measures of barley he handed me over; and eight measures of barley from my appropriation he deducted."

Thus Uṯḫaya: "One sheep and one goat (50) Peshkil(l)ishu took by force."

Thus Zigi: "One sheep Peshkil(l)ishu took by force upon *šallušmu*."

Thus Palteya: "One sheep Peshkil(l)ishu took away."

Thus Paliya: "One mina of lead, (55) one table whose legs were of beech-wood, and one couch Peshkil(l)ishu took away by force."

Thus Hanakku: "One bow Peshkil(l)ishu took by force and 7 measures of barley from my brother as .. he took away."

(60) Thus Shukriteshup: "One ass Peshkil(l)ishu took for a price, but the price he did not pay; and verily he has not returned it upon *šallušmu*."

Thus Hatarte: "I was journeying in the land of Hanigalbat, and on account of my lawsuit (65) they handed me over to Peshkil(l)ishu. One sheep, one mixing bowl of bronze and two doors Ahumisha paid as a fee to Peshkil(l)ishu, but he did not attend to my suit."

(70-71) Seals of Paya and Haishteshup.

2. The spelling of this name varies between *Peš-ki-ili-šu* (3.56; 9.3, 13; 10.4 ff.) and *Peš-ki-il-li-šu* (here and in line 23); *-ili-* reappears in the remainder of this text. This variation complicates the study of the component elements. The reading *peš* (instead of **bir*) is established by the writing *be-eš*, 14.2, 10.

3. In *ḫušaurūtu* we have apparently an Akkadianized Hurrian term of unknown

meaning. SMN 2598.1-2 mentions *ḫu-šu-ú-ru* as some kind of dye. "Dyeing" would not be out of place in the present context.

7. "Provisions" (*ṣīdīta*) may be a colloquialism for "ransom." For the interesting form *ittatlaku*, cf. 76.8.

14. *Al-ilāni* is shown once again to be coextensive with or, more probably, a part of Arrapḫa, by the parallelism of this line with line 9; cf. Gadd, p. 85.

36. With *šūtu ša šārti* may be compared *1 enzu SAL ša šārti*, H II 101-18 (the line is numbered 19 by mistake).

44. The signs following *1* TÚG*tù* fail to make sense. The last two (AN.ṢAB) may refer to "idols," as they do in a very important passage furnished kindly by Dr. Lacheman: DINGIRMEŠ AN.ṢABMEŠ (for *an-ṣab/aṣṣab*?), SMN 2655.10. At all events, some valuable type of garment is apparently mentioned here.

51. The force of *i-na ša-lu-uš-mu* (cf. also *i-na 3-lu-mu*, line 61) may be that of *šumma* in oaths. The noun is clearly non-Akkadian.

66. For the value attached to doors, cf. 1.16, 10.22.

9

Thus Huziri: "Six shekels of purified silver to Peshkilishu I gave, (5) and thus I (spoke), 'to Kushshiharbe give (them) and let him attend to my lawsuit.' One rein-ring (?) (10) of a chariot I gave (in addition); to my lawsuit he did not attend; the six shekels of silver and the chariot rein-ring(?) Peshkilishu kept."

9, 13. *iṣši-ir-nu* is apparently the same as *iṣšurennu* "standard," here perhaps "rein-ring." [The collated text has *qaširnu*, for *gišrennu* = *iṣšurennu*? Or do we have here a confusion between GIŠ and QA?]

10

Thus Unaya: "One goat Hutiya had given to me; and Giliya seized (it) and marked its neck with his seal; and he seized myself also. And Peshkilishu (5) broke its seal and marked it for Kushshiharbe. Taya son of Araya had been committed to me for three talents of copper. And Peshkilishu by force from among the *taluḫlu*-workers removed (him)."

Thus Shumutrama: "Two of my sheep (10) Peshkilishu took away and kept them; my bride he took away and for eleven months in his house he held her imprisoned."

Thus Turari: "Two sheep Peshkilishu took away. The one belonging to the soldiers (10) they released, but mine they kept."

Thus Ipshahalu the weaver: "One sheep Peshkilishu took away and kept; but the sheep belonging to the (other) workers of wool they released."

Thus Arshawa: "I am a resident of Tursha. (20) And Peshkilishu entered my house, tore off my door, and took it away; and my house they robbed."

8. The *taluḫlie* represent a class of servants; see 23.8. Cf. also SMN 900: *x imēr še'ātimeš iprumeš a-na ni-iš bi-ti ša šarrati . . x imer še'atimeš ipru a-na 18 awēlūtimeš ta-lu-uḫ-li napḫar x imēr še'āti a-na na-ru-ú ša šarri.* Thus the *t.* are grouped together with the *nīš biti*, with whom they may share the general designation *na-ru-ú* (gen./acc. *na-ri-e*). This term in turn corresponds to the frequent TUR.TUR^{meš}, being evidently a synonym of *ṣuḫarū* (pl.). We have here apparently West Semitic *n'r* 'boy' in the sense in which the word is used, e. g., in Gen. 18: 7, Jud. 19: 9, etc. For our *nīš bīti* cf. the "men born in the house," Gen. 14: 14.

11-14

These texts are too fragmentary for a connected translation.

14-16. The name TAR-*miya* brings up the vexing question as to the correct reading of the very common onomastic element represented by the first syllable. Without going into details at present, I shall merely call attention to the following: Names beginning with TAR have the same second elements as names beginning with *ḫiš* (spelled out *ḫi-iš*); cf. TAR-*miya*; *-tešup*; *-tilla* with *Ḫiš-miya*; *-tešup*; *-tilla*. On the other hand, no definite identity of any of these pairs can be established by means of common parentage, for all the numerous appearances of each type. Moreover, the reading *tar* is independently confirmed (cf., e. g., *il-TAR-qú*, 1.47), whereas the value *hiš* for TAR lacks similar confirmation in these texts. Nor should the fact be overlooked that the principle of economy would operate in favor of the short sign TAR as against the two long signs TA-AR. To sum up, then, both *ḫiš* and **tar* may have been independent onomastic elements in Hurrian names; but the possibility that *ḫiš* alone is the correct reading should not be overlooked.

B. The Archives of Tulpunnaya

(Nos. 15-45)

The group of thirty-one texts comprising Nos. 15-45 concerns directly or indirectly a woman by the name of Tulpunnaya.[1] Where the exact provenience is indicated, the documents came from Room 120, which formed part of one of the buildings on the mound proper; presumably, the unmarked tablets were unearthed in or near the same room. How private family archives of this type had come to be placed in the mound district of Nuzi, we cannot

[1] Our heroine is not mentioned in any of the texts published up to the present. A woman by the same name figures in H II 116.2, 7, 11. But she has different parents (the space in line 3 is not sufficient for either Sheltunnaya or for Irwisharri) and, what is even more important, her status is that of a debtor. In N 487.3 there is mentioned a certain Taya son of Tulpunnaya. A Tulpunnaya is mentioned also in H I 65.6, a text that is curiously garbled. The name has here the male determinative, but the feminine ending *-naya* and the presence of Akkuya suggest that we are dealing with the same person in both texts.

determine for the time being. The publication of the archaeological results of the Nuzi expedition, which is not likely to be delayed much longer, may furnish the necessary information on this point. It is possible that the family of Tulpunnaya had close official connections; or else, the building in question may have been a private dwelling.

Tulpunnaya was the daughter of a certain Irwisharri and of Sheltunnaya. It is noteworthy that whereas Irwisharri, the father, is mentioned only once (23.4), Sheltunnaya is introduced as the mother of Tulpunnaya in all the remaining texts where descent is indicated at all. The elder woman is mentioned in 34.6 as the principal in a previous business transaction, which shows that the distaff side of this family was prominent for at least two generations. We know that Tulpunnaya was married to a certain Hashuar; but beyond his mention as husband in 15.5 and 16.8, and his probable identity with his namesake of 33.33, where the man's part is wholly a subsidiary one, there are no other indications that the male element was of much consequence in the affairs of this particular family.[2] To be sure, we know that neither Winnirgi mother of Tehiptilla nor Uzna[3] wife of Ennamati (son of Tehiptilla) was content to remain in the background and leave the business management entirely in the hands of her husband; neither did, however, supplant the man in question as was done by Tulpunnaya and apparently also by her mother Sheltunnaya. More remarkable still, even the parties dealing with Tulpunnaya reflect in their composition or by their influence the prominent position of women in the Nuzi society. Thus the woman Shitanka gives away her brother Hanatu to Tulpunnaya in what is a convincing demonstration of sororate rights (No. 23). And it is Hiyarelli wife of Shukrapu, and not her husband, who gives their daughter Halpapusha into "daughtership" to Tulpunnaya's slave-woman Hanate (No. 42). It is evident, then, from the Tulpunnaya texts that the status of women in Nuzi was even more favorable than has been hitherto supposed.[4]

The relative date of the generation of Tulpunnaya can be established with ease. No. 17.17 introduces the well-known Tehiptilla son of Puhishenni as one of the judiciary group known as *ḫalzuḫlū*.[5] Apart from giving us the official status of Tehiptilla, this passage dates the entire group of documents under discussion. The archives of the Tehiptilla family deal primarily with

[2] In the published texts there are a number of individuals bearing the name of Hashuar. Cf., e. g., N 9.7; 19.21; 447.9 (son of Tarmiya); 461.5 (son of Akipshali); 486.28 (son of Nihriya), et al.

[3] For Winnirgi, cf. the unusually inscribed tablet, N 82.27; for new Uzna texts, cf. e. g., 52.2; 60.5; 87.3.

[4] Cf. Gordon, ZA NF 9.146 ff.

[5] See note ad loc.

three generations, viz., those of Tehiptilla himself, his son Ennamati, and his grandson Takku. Puhishenni and Winnirgi, the parents of Tehiptilla, are mentioned, to be sure, in several transactions, but such references are mostly in retrospect, so that Tehiptilla's is the first generation that is contemporary with the known Nuzi documents. Tulpunnaya proves thus to belong to the early Nuzi period, in which falls also, as we have seen, the administration of Kushishiharbe. An echo of a still earlier generation is sounded in No. 23 which takes us back to the time when Tulpunnaya's mother was at work in building up the family fortune.

Let us now take a glance at the contents of the Tulpunnaya archives. Although limited in number, the group is fairly representative, so much so that it may serve as a convenient introduction to the varieties of Nuzi legal material for those who have not had previous experience with the Nuzi texts. We find declarations in court introduced by *umma* "thus," or *lišānšū(nu)* "his, her, or their tongue(s)"; adoptions, or, more specifically, sale-adoptions; daughter and daughter-in-law texts, which convey to the adopter or purchaser power over the girl in question; antichretic security (*ditennūtu*) [6] texts, limited here to personal security and being thus tantamount to records of at least temporary self-enslavement; and finally, lawsuits arising from an alleged breach of this or that contract.

Passing now to a brief consideration of certain specific items, Nos. 15-29 deal with the acquisition by Tulpunnaya of real estate or human chattels. Permanent acquisition of real estate is effected by means of a declaration on the part of the seller (under whatever legal disguise the sale may have taken place; cf. Nos. 15-7, 19), or through the convenient medium of a sale-adoption (18, 21; cf. also 20). Essentially, the two forms are identical, since a declaration conveying immovable property presupposes or implies a sale-adoption. Tulpunnaya seems to have been particularly covetous of the orchards in the city (or village) of Temtena [7] (cf. 15-17; 19), but her activities extend also to the settlement of Zizza (20-1). In obtaining slave-girls, however, for the purpose of marrying them off, for a price or for their offspring, the process is reversed; this time Tulpunnaya is the adopting party (No. 23). The fate of such an adopted "daughter" is sealed by a specific clause: "(Even) if ten of her husbands have died, in that case to an eleventh she may give her into wifehood" (ibid. lines 12-3). The acquisition of temporary serfs is

[6] Cf. note at 7.29.

[7] This name appears here usually with the subject affix *-aš*; cf. 15.7; 16.5; 17.4; 18.5; 19.6; 32.42. Without this ending we find the name in 28.14; 31.12; 41.5. The masculine personal name Tente (related to Elamite *temti tep/wti* "lord"?) occurs in 16.6; cf. also Tenteya, 20.1.

recorded in the well-established type of *ditennūtu* documents (24-9). But the clause calling for an eventual termination of the slave contract was often merely academic[8]; for according to No. 25, the period of self-enslavement is set at fifty years, and it is doubtful whether the *ditennu* in question lived to celebrate the jubilee.

Nos. 30-3 relate all to a single case. A "daughtership" document (No. 30) places the girl Kisaya in the power of Tulpunnaya. The usual clause about the right of the adopter to marry the girl off at will has not been overlooked. But Kisaya is not without a will of her own. She leaves her mistress and has to be brought back as a result of a court order (No. 33). But her spirit is not broken, for she finds some way to obtain the husband of her own choice instead of the one that Tulpunnaya attempts to force upon her (No. 31). In the end, Kisaya is obliged to declare her son as the property of Tulpunnaya. But the latter has had sufficient proof of Kisaya's independence: to make sure that the declaration will be honored, she cuts off personally Kisaya's hem, the act emphasizing the sanctity of the agreement, instead of allowing her "daughter" to attend to the matter, as was customary in instances of this kind (No. 32).

Nos. 34-5 belong together in that one of the slaves of Tulpunnaya appears in both these texts. The former takes us back to the time of Shultunnaya mother of Tulpunnaya. A certain woman had been given into slavery to Shultunnaya by the father of the deponent. Now the deponent cedes to Tulpunnaya all the offspring of the slave-woman in question. The fact that a declaration to this effect was necessary will be of great interest to the jurists from whom we must await an authoritative interpretation of the legal implications of these documents. At all events, Aripenni, one of the male descendants thus transferred is mentioned in No. 35 as the slave for whose sake Tulpunnaya pays a certain sum to the author of this deposition. In all probability, the payment covers the cost of Aripenni's wife. Finally, Nos. 36-7 deals with other slaves acquired by Tulpunnaya.

We have seen from the litigation with Kisaya (No. 33) that Tulpunnaya's manifold dealings involved her at times in difficulties which the courts were called upon to resolve. Her ruthless methods, as reflected by the statement that a girl might be given to an eleventh husband, if need be (No. 23), or by setting the period of security enslavement at fifty years (No. 25), were no doubt responsible in part for such insurgent manifestations. In Nos. 38-41 we have a group of lawsuits that are not connected with any of the preceding documents. No. 38 presents the interesting case of an *ewuru*-heir who failed

[8] Cf. Koschaker, Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wis. 42.1.90.

to pay off a debt held against the estate of the deceased, incidentally, that debt happened to be adequately secured. No. 39 concerns a dispute over the offspring of one of Tulpunnaya's slaves, a type of litigation in which our heroine was evidently well experienced. In the present instance it is the wife of the slave and her brother who lay claim to the offspring, though to no avail. In No. 40 a Habiru makes an attempt to escape bondage in the house of Tulpunnaya, an effort that was fore-doomed to failure. The fourth and last lawsuit of this particular group affords us a glimpse at another form of Nuzi economy. The precious irrigation water, the use of which was carefully supervised by a special government official, the stream being conducted in canals undoubtedly similar to those used by the modern villagers of the district to this day, had been diverted by another land-owner. The latter is given for his misdirected efforts the standard sentence for civil offenses, viz., a fine of one ox, which was the accepted equivalent of ten shekels of silver.[9]

In the four remaining documents of this series it is the slaves of Tulpunnaya who figure as principals in transactions with outsiders. One of the reasons for our magnate's success was evidently her policy of rewarding servants who were faithful and duly submissive. Nos. 42-4 constitute a virtual replica of the group numbered 30-3, except that the protagonist in the present series is Hanate slave-woman of Tulpunnaya. She acquires a girl "as daughter and daughter-in-law," who thereby becomes a candidate for repeated marriages (No. 42). The phraseology is the same as in No. 30, even down to certain elliptical sentences (cf. 30.12; 42.13); the two documents were drawn up by the same scribe (Urhiya). But when the girl is to be handed over, her parents suffer a change of heart (No. 43), with much the same result as in No. 33. In the next text (No. 44) Hanate hastens to exercise her rights and marries off her "daughter" to one of Tulpunnaya's slaves. Thus the affairs in the microcosm of the servants are patterned slavishly after the model of the mistress' world. No. 45 introduces the afore-mentioned Aripenni, but his precise rôle is obscured for us by the poor condition of the text.

The varied dealings of Tulpunnaya are scarcely exhausted by the available texts in which that enterprising lady appears. They extended apparently over a period of many years. This may be gathered, among other indications, from the fact that Tulpunnaya found it necessary to employ a considerable number of scribes. Their names follow in the order of frequency of employment, the number of tablets written by each of them being given in a parenthesis: Urhiya (seven); Shershiya and Sin-iqīsha (four each); Nabū-ilu (three); Nabū-nāṣir and Shamash-ilu-rēshtū (two each); Amurriya, Iṯḫapihe,

[9] This value has been established by Cross, MPND, under "Cattle."

Shumu-libshī, and Sin-iddin(nam) (one apiece). On three tablets the names of the scribes are missing.

It would be interesting to follow the history of the house of Sheltunnaya through several subsequent generations. In the case of her contemporary Puhishenni, father of Tehiptilla, the records enable us to trace this particular family saga down to the time of Takku, who lived to see his estate and the kingdom to which it belonged ransacked by the Assyrians.[10] Whether the house of Sheltunnaya and Tulpunnaya followed along parallel lines, we are unable to tell at present, for later records are not available. But this condition is probably accidental. The sequel to the history of Tulpunnaya may yet turn up among the unpublished tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum. Or did the lady die without issue, the fortune amassed in the course of a very busy life being split up among a number of indirect heirs? An answer to this question would prove exceedingly interesting and instructive.

15

The tongue of Watwa son Tabsharri in the presence of the judges spoke as follows: "^{f}Tulpunnaya (5) the wife of Hashuar I adopted. An orchard above ^{c}Temtenash, bordering on the orchard of Wantishshe, its length twenty (*purīdu?*), on the long side, and its width (10) seven *purīdu,* to ^{f}Tulpunnaya I have given. And ^{f}Tulpunnaya to me one bow as my reward has given. If the orchard has a claimant, (15) then I alone shall clear (it)." From this day on Watwa on account of the orchard shall not raise claims against ^{f}Tulpunnaya.

(20-9) Signature of Nabū-ilu the scribe, and three seals.

2. I normalize *Tabsharri* instead of *Ṭāb-sharri* inasmuch as the Semitic character of the first element is questionable.

5. Only here and in 16.8 does Tulpunnaya appear as the wife of Hashuar. In all the remaining Tulpunnaya texts she is introduced as the daughter of Sheltunnaya. A certain Hashuar (the name is perhaps related to *Hašmar*) is mentioned in 33.33; but his position is obscure and it is not entirely clear for which side he is appearing; cf. ad loc. Hashuar figures also in the as yet unpublished SAL.LUGAL texts in some official capacity (e. g., SMN 3380.14); his identity with our Hashuar is entirely probable.

5-6. The phrase *ana mārūti epēšu* is used here (and in the following texts) in the general sense of "adopt," regardless of the sex of the adopted. A literal translation "to make into sonship" would be incongruous with the woman Tulpunnaya as beneficiary.

8 ff. The scribe seems to confuse his general and his specific terms for length measures. After *murāku* "length" we expect the measure in question (in this case *purīdu*)

[10] Cf. JAOS 47.56 ff. and N 525.

to be given after the numeral, but we find instead *si-it-ti*, evidently from *šiddu* "long side, flank," i. e., a virtual synonym of the former word. The translation attempts to make sense with the text as it stands. As regards *pu-ri-ti*, it has been assumed here that the writing represents *purīdu*, perhaps "leg." In 22.4 ff. *šiddu* is followed by *šēpu* (written GfR) "foot." But we expect some larger unit than the foot inasmuch as *ammatu* "cubit" occurs in the same passage as a measure that is clearly smaller than *šēpu*. The net result of this timid venture into Nuzi metrology may be summed up as follows: By the side of *ammatu* "cubit" (which occurs, incidentally, in some wholly unorthodox connections, such as *ša 2 ammati ū malūti* applied to slaves; cf. at 63.5), there was in Hurrian Arrapḫa a larger unit based on the length of the leg and rendered either as *šēpu* or as *purīdu* (for the latter cf. N 74.7 f.). For Nuzi metrology in general see Cross, MPND, ad loc.

14. The literal meaning of *šumma* is "assuming, given that." I have used "if" throughout to avoid that cumbersome, though more exact, rendering. The conditional clause may be indicated, however, without any particle; cf. e. g., x DAM-za BA.UG$_6$^{MEŠ}: "(if) her first husband should die," etc., 30.9 ff.; see also 42.10 ff.

19. The legal phrase for "raise claims against someone" is represented in these texts by the vivid *ina arki X šasū* "shout after (or behind) someone," instead of the familiar Babylonian *ragāmu* "call, shout." For an exact parallel to this Nuzi clause in Egyptian documents, cf. San-Nicolò, *Schlussklauseln* 173 note 83.

22. Note that Teshshuya (cf. 16.20; 41.23), one of the judges, is a *mār šarri*.

16

The tongues of Shennaka, of Arshanta, and of Aripsharri, sons of Ennamati, before the judges spoke as follows: (5) "An *aweḫaru* of orchard in ^{c}Temtenash bordering on the orchard of Tente, as her reward to ^{f}Tulpunnaya wife of Hashuar we have given. If the orchard which we have given (10) has a claimant, then we shall clear (it)." From this day on the three brothers, sons of Ennamati, on account of this orchard (15) against ^{f}Tulpunnaya shall not raise any complaints.

(17-20) Signature of Nabū-ilu the scribe, and three seals.

5. For *mala*, cf. note at 3.24.

17

The tongue of Naisheri son of Naltuya before the *ḫalzuḫlū* spoke as follows: "One *imēr* of land in ^{c}Temtenash (5) bordering on the land of Irrushsa to ^{f}Tulpunnaya I have given and have adopted her. If the land has a claimant, (10) then I shall clear (it)." On this day (and on) Naisheri concerning the one *imēr* of land shall not raise any claims against ^{f}Tulpunnaya.

(15-18) Signature of Nabū-ilu the scribe, and three seals.

17. The appearance of Tehiptilla son of Puhishenni as one of the three officials before whom the deposition is made is very significant. It establishes Tulpunnaya directly

as a contemporary of Tehiptilla, thus dating the present group of documents to the first active generation introduced in the Nuzi documents. Moreover, Tehiptilla proves to have been an important official, a *ḫalzuḫlu*, to judge from line 3; this position is linked with the judiciary by the fact that the officials in question are occasionally described as judges (cf. e. g., 15.21 for Tarmiya) and, furthermore, by the common *ina pāni dayānī ū ina pāni ḫalzuḫlē*, with which the depositions are frequently introduced. In SMN 604.3 mention is made of the woman Tarmennaya who is described as a princess (SAL.LUGAL), daughter of Tehiptilla. It is very probable that the Tehiptilla in question is the well known son of Puhishenni. These connections coupled with our knowledge of the acquisitiveness and power of Tehiptilla provide a valuable commentary on contemporary social conditions.

18

Document of adoption of ^{f}Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya; and Hurpishenni son of Hashiya (5) adopted (her). One *aweḫaru* of orchard in ^{c}Temtenash, bordering on the orchard of Hapurshi son of Puhishenni, to Tulpunnaya he gave in adopting (her). If the orchard has (10) a claimant, that orchard he shall clear. The one that breaks the contract (shall furnish) one mina of silver (and) one mina of gold. And ^{f}Tulpunnaya as reward two sheep, one shekel of purified silver, and one *imēr* of barley to Hurpishenni has paid.

(15-25) Ten witnesses, including Nabū-nāṣir, the scribe. Each of the first four is termed "surveyor (*la-mu*) of the orchard." (26) These are the surveyors. (27-30) Seals of Hurpishenni, "the owner of the orchard," Gilipsharri, "the witness," the scribe, and Arteya. (30-2) If Hurpishenni breaks the contract, one mina of silver (and) one mina of gold he shall pay.

The penalty clause is repeated on the edge (lines 30 ff.), this time being applied specifically to Hurpishenni. Not counting the scribe, only two of the nine witnesses are represented also by their seals, and neither of them is designated specifically as a *lāmū* (*mušelwū*). Gilipsharri alone is identified as a witness proper (*šību*).

19

The tongue of Irwisharri son of Tabsharri before the *ḫalzuḫlū* spoke as follows: "(As for) ^{f}Tulpunnaya, Irwisharri (5) adopted her. A full *kumanu* of orchard in ^{c}Temtenash, situated where the orchard of Wan ..., to ^{f}Tulpunnaya (I gave). And two sheep, eight minas of copper .. (10) to me she gave. If the orchard has a claimant, (Irwisharri shall clear (it) and restore to ^{f}Tulpunnaya). From this day on (15) (Irwisharri against) ^{f}Tulpunnaya shall not raise any claims."

(19-22) Signature of Itḫapihe the scribe, and three seals.

The three *ḫalzuḫlū* of this document are the same as in No. 17.

20

The lands of Tenteya, the upper orchard which borders the orchard of Īnā-abi, belonging to ᶠYalampa, and the buildings of Shennaya (5) in the heart of ᶜZizza, those lands, that orchard, and those buildings, in consideration therefor, ᶠYalampa was adopted. And now (10) ᶠYalampa to ᶠTulpunnaya has given (them).

(12-27) Eleven witnesses, including Turari, the scribe. Seals of four of the above and of ᶠYalampa.

3. The name Yalampa is known as that of a slave-girl from H I 23.3; 59.17; 67.35.

7-9. *ana annūti ana mārūti ēpšet* is a perfectly clear statement of the purpose of sale-adoptions.

23 ff. Since this document is not an official deposition in court, the seals do not represent judges, but merely some of the witnesses.

21

Document of adoption of Huipapu son of Shurakka; and ᶠTulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya he adopted. One *kumanu* and half a *ḫararnu* of orchard in ᶜZizza above the (5) *gigiruḫḫi*-[...], to the north of the orchard of Ahuya, Huipapu as her inheritance share to ᶠTulpunnaya gave. And ᶠTulpunnaya one ox four (years old) as his reward to Huipapu gave. (10) If there is a claim against the orchard, then that orchard Huipapu shall clear and to ᶠTulpunnaya he shall restore (it). If Huipapu breaks the contract and raises claims about the orchard, then that orchard (15) ᶠTulpunnaya shall retain as heretofore and Huipapu shall pay as fine fivefold the value of the orchard and shall deliver (it) to ᶠTulpunnaya in ᶜZizza. The copper cubit which (is) in the gate of the City of the Gods, the measurements of (that) copper cubit they have taken (20) and shall measure the orchard (according to it).

(21-44) Twelve witnesses, including Sin-iqīsha the scribe. Seals of the above.

4. For *kumanu*, cf. note to 65.8; the present passage shows that *ḫararnu* was a subdivision of *kumanu*.

15. The phrase *kīmē x-ma x* obviously indicates definite approval of the status quo. Cf. 32.2. The force approaches that of the Hebrew infinite absolute.

18 ff. We have here the valuable indication that a standard measure unit, made of copper, was kept in the gate of the City of the Gods, the religious and administrative center of the city (and country) of Arrapḫa. Cf. also the following text, line 11.

22

Document of adoption of A[...]; and ^{f}Tulpunnaya daughter of She[l-tunnaya he adop]ted. An orchard forty-seven (feet) on its long side, [at its upper end,] forty-three feet also on the long side, at its lower end, (5) seven feet and two cubits long at its northern end, nine feet and two cubits long at its southern end, these are the measurements of the orchard; to the south of the orchard of Tesh[...], on the canal of Katane (10) at its northern side; the measurements of the copper cubit which is in the gate of ^{c}[...] they took and measured the orchard; (this) [A..] as her inheritance share to (15) ^{f}Tulpunnaya gave. And [^{f}Tulpunnaya .....]

(17-26) The names of ten witnesses are preserved, including that of Sin-iqīsha the scribe.

(26-7) These are the witnesses who surveyed the orchard and in whose presence the payment was made.

(28-39 and 41) Thirteen seals.

(40) This tablet was written after the proclamation.

3 ff. For *šiddu* and *šēpu* cf. 15.8 ff. All the terms for the points of the compass have in this text the ending *-ānu*. "Above" and "below" are, doubtless, east and west respectively, as was suggested by Gadd, p. 87; the district of Kirkuk is bounded by mountains on the east side; cf. also, Gordon in *RA* 31.101 ff. The ending *-iššu* is certainly unidiomatic in the present context.

27. The details of the *kaspu* are lost owing to the break following line 15.

23

Document of daughtership of ^{f}Shitanka daughter of Hābildamqu; now herself and her brother Hanatu son of Hābildamqu into daughtership to ^{f}Tulpunnaya daughter of Irwisharri he gave. (5) And ^{f}Tulpunnaya will give away ^{f}Shitanka into wifehood. If ^{f}Tulpunnaya is so inclined, she may give her to a slave, and if she is so inclined he may give her to a *taluḫlu*, and, likewise, if ^{f}Tulpunnaya (10) is so inclined, she may make ^{f}Shitanka into a harlot; but as long as ^{f}Tulpunnaya is alive she shall feed her. If ten of her husbands have died, in that case to an eleventh into wifehood she shall give her. If ^{f}Shitanka should break the agreement (15) and leave the house of ^{f}Tulpunnaya, two minas of gold to ^{f}Tulpunnaya she shall pay. And if Shitanka should cause her brother Hanatu to leave the house of ^{f}Tulpunnaya, the conditions are the same.

(19-39) Fourteen witnesses, including Shershiya, the scribe. Seven seals.

We are faced here with the problem of a woman giving her brother into adoption. While fratriarchal rights are amply attested in our texts (cf. Koschaker, *Fratriarchat*

in *ZA* NF VII), we have had so far no such indication of sororate rights. The present document, however, reflects such a situation (cf. especially the clause in lines 17 f.). To be sure, No. 24 shows the young man in question as a *ditennu* of Tulpunnaya, to whom he had been given by his father. But this scarcely invalidates the implications of the text that is before us.

The remaining questions are primarily linguistic. They will be cited in the order of their occurrence.

1. In place of the usual *mārūtu* "sonship," applying to women as well as to men, we have this time *mārtūtu* "daughtership" applied to the brother of Tulpunnaya and to herself. More is involved, however, than mere confusion in terminology. Whereas *mārūtu* may serve to designate sale-adoption, a *mārtu* is a daughter and concubine, in a state of virtual slavery. Now Hanatu is deeded to Tulpunnaya as a *ditennu*, which amounts to the same thing.

For Hābil-damqu cf. the writing *IḪa-bil-ta-an-ga*, 24.1; according to 42.43 he was a gardener. For the same initial element (meaning evidently "one who captures") cf. f*Ha-bi-il-ki-it-tù*, N 516.18. The final element is paralleled in spelling by *Ta-an-ki-ya*, H II 109.3, and *Damqaga-ya*, ibid. 45; cf. also *Dam-ki-ya* father of *Zi-(ik)-ku-ur-ta*, H I 100.30, and *Ta-ki-ya* father of d*Sin*-GIŠ.SAG.KUL (*Zikkurta*), H II 98.36.

4. Irwisharri father of Tulpunnaya is introduced as such only here. In the other texts of this group Tulpunnaya indicates her descent on the maternal side, i. e. from Sheltunnaya. This name occurs with the feminine determinative in 34.6. Cf. also the case of fKisaya who is the daughter of fArimmatka (No. 31) and of Ariya (No. 32). As for the ending *-naya*, we have here clearly a feminine element. Cf. e. g., fHashunnaya, 34.3, and especially (not to list here the numerous other instances from previously published texts) fAmminae/ya, who figures in the important letter of Saushshatar, King of Maiteni/Mitanni (H II 1), and is also known as a queen (SAL.LUGAL), according to an unpublished text (SMN 2662) transliterated by Dr. Lacheman.

7 ff. The term *nāḫiš* instead of the customary *ḫāšiḫ* or *ḫādī/ē* is puzzling. The sense is obviously the same, but the use of the verb in this connotation is unorthodox, to say the least. The nearest that one can come to it is through the idea of "bounty," which is admittedly far-fetched. The adverbial ending would favor the reading *na-ṭi-iš*, but the value *ṭi* of the sign ḪI is not otherwise known in the Nuzi texts.

8. For LÚ*taluḫlu* cf. 10.8 and the note ad hoc. The term is apparently equivalent to "one of the *nīš bīti*."

12. The summation "if ten husbands should die, the girl may be given to an eleventh" is certainly carrying the thing to an academic extreme. Other texts of this nature provide for as many as four marriages (cf. Nos. 30 and 42); the present clause makes sure that the girl will bear future slaves as long as she is capable of doing so, regardless of the mortality among her respective mates.

24

A *ditennu* document. Hābil-damqa gave his son Hanatu to fTulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya into *ditennūtu*. And fTulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya one slave to Hābil-damqu has given. Ten years she shall retain (him). When one slave to fTulpunnaya he has returned, then his son Hanatu he shall take back.

(9-32) Seventeen witnesses, including Nabū-nāṣir, the scribe. Seven seals, being respectively those of Hābil-damqa, the scribe, and five of the above witnesses, each of whom is designated as a *šību*.

For another assignment of the same Hanatu to Tulpunnaya, which was made by the sister of the present *ditennu*, see the preceding text.

1. The second element of the personal name was expressed in the preceding tablet by means of the ideogram SIG_5 (*damqu*); here it is spelled out *ta-an-ga*.

9. The name *Ianzi-mašḫu* is a good Kassite compound meaning "The King is God," or perhaps "King is God."

25

Document of *ditennūtu* of Arilu son of (?); for *ditennūtu* into the houses of fTulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya he caused himself to enter. (5) Ten *imēr* of barley, one ox, one sheep, 2 *tallu* of sesame oil, and one cloth Arilu received from the household of fTulpunnaya. In exchange for these goods he shall remain on the estate of fTulpunnaya for fifty years. On the day when (10) those years have expired, Arilu shall return to the estate of fTulpunnaya the goods (listed) in this tablet, and shall go away.

Thus Arilu: "To Kurpari for the King's payment they have assigned me, and (15) I the money from fTulpunnaya have received and given to Kurpari." And thus Kurpari: "As for the remainder of the money due on (that) payment, to fTulpunnaya I have assigned (it)." Arilu [..] (20) Ehliteshup [...] Arilu [...] If Kurpari complains, he shall pay a fine of one mina of silver (and) one mina of gold to Tulpunnaya. Seal of Utiya.

(25-49) Nineteen witnesses, including Tilammu the scribe. Six seals.

This security document is unusual in that the time of fifty years is not equaled or approached elsewhere. That the figure is not an error for five, however, is shown by the amount involved. One ox alone had a standard value of ten shekels (cf. Cross, MPND, under "Cattle"), to which are to be added ten *imēr* of barley, a cloth, and some sesame oil, all being costly commodities. With the outright price of slaves averaging thirty shekels, it is clear that the goods specified in this text are far in excess of the normal value of a *ditennu* for five years.

The reason for this exceptional debt is indicated in the declaration of Kurpari, to whom the amount had been transferred after Arilu had failed to make a payment imposed by the government. From the fact that the assessment is described as *ṭātu* "gift, bribe" (reading *ti* for *ki*) it is manifest that the amount represents some kind of fine.

21-2. This part of the tablet is damaged and the context is consequently obscure. The names listed here and in line 24 seem out of place inasmuch as the witnesses and the seals are given on the reverse.

26

Document of *ditennūtu* of Puhishenni son of Waradginu; now himself into *ditennūtu* the house of ^{f}Tulpunnaya he caused to enter. (5) And ^{f}Tulpunnaya eleven *imēr* of barley by the measure of the tax-payments for *ditennūtu* to Puhishenni has given. Whenever the eleven *imēr* of barley (10) Puhishenni to ^{f}Tulpunnaya has returned, then himself he shall have freed.

(13-33) Thirteen witnesses including Shershiya the scribe. Eight seals.

6. For the *sūtu ša* HAR.RA cf. Deimel ŠL 401.22.

13. Note the writing *kiwa-* for the customary *kipa-*.

21. Uṭḫapshenni is called LÚMUŠEn.DU (the latter sign is written like NI), i. e. *ušandū* (cf. LÚ*ú-za-an-du*, H I 55.9) "bird catcher," or perhaps here also "poulterer." For the presence of chickens at Nuzi see N 496.4 (*kurkū*).

27

Document of *ditennūtu* (of) Taena son of Ukari; his father Ukari gave him to ^{f}Tulpunnaya into *ditennūtu* for six years. (5) And ^{f}Tulpunnaya one *imēr* of barley gave to Ukari. And when the six years have expired, one *imēr* of barley Ukari to ^{f}Tulpunnaya shall return and his son (10) he shall take back. And if Taena should depart for a single day from the work of ^{f}Tulpunnaya, Ukari shall have to pay to ^{f}Tulpunnaya one mina of copper for each day as compensation for him. (15) And ^{f}Tulpunnaya shall provide Taena with food and wool for clothing.

(17-41) Thirteen witnesses. Nine seals, including that of Urhiya the scribe.

10 ff. One mina of copper is the normal compensation in such cases. In H I 40.17 we find instead 1 *sūtu* (= 10 SILA or *qā*) of barley, which is known as the compensation for hired labor (though in a different connection) from the Sumerian Family Laws; cf. now Oppenheim, *Mietrecht* (Beihefte zur WZKM 2) 36 ff.

28

Ten *imēr* of barley belonging to ^{f}Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya, to Taya son of Artamuzi she gave. And Taya his son Artirwa (5) for twenty years into *ditennūtu* to ^{f}Tulpunnaya gave. When the twenty years have expired, ten *imēr* of barley Taya to ^{f}Tulpunnaya shall return and his son he shall take back. (10) At the time when the four cloud men(?) have been making the journey(?) of the Storm-god of the Cities, at this time this tablet is being written. The tablet was written after the proclamation in front of the gate of ^{c}Temtena.

(15-36) Twelve witnesses, including Sin-iqīsha the scribe. Ten seals.

This ordinary security document, in so far as its legal contents are concerned, is nevertheless of unusual interest on account of its date formula. The passage in question is defective and the precise allusion as well as the detailed interpretation must remain obscure. But the mention of the storm-god (line 11) favors our taking the preceding *ú-ru-ba-du* as "clouds" (i. e. *ur(u)pātu*). In that case the LÚ.. *u.* would be something like "rainmakers." "To take the road (if *gerru* was actually in the text) of the Storm-god of the Cities" would be a reference to a definite ritual performed in times of exceptionally severe drought. Cf. also the "work of the storm-god," H I 104.17. For a modern rain ritual see Frankfort in Iraq I 137-45.

3. *Ar-tamuzi* is a combination of a Hurrian element and a southern deity; and example of the converse combination is *Teshup-nirari*, cf., e. g., 54.24.

10 and 12. *uštu ū inanna* is a rather awkward date construction; more idiomatic is *šuntu ū ina ūmišū*, N 46.23-4.

29

The tongue of Shukteshup the weaver spoke in the presence of witnesses: "I am a *ditennu* of ^{f}Tulpunnaya, (5) and there is no one to go bail for me. So of my free will I have cast myself in bondage." And thus (further) Shukteshup: (10) "If on account of the bondage I should complain [against] ^{f}Tulpunnaya, [..] one mina of silver to ^{f}Tulpunnaya I shall pay as fine."

(15-39) Sixteen witnesses including Wantiya, the merchant from ^{c}Ulamme, and Urhiya the scribe. Seven seals.

We have here a formal statement concerning the transition from the status of a *ditennu* to that of a slave proper. The change is called voluntary by the declarer, though lack of the necessary funds is given as the ultimate reason. That in practice many of the *ditennūtu* contracts entailed a similar fate may be taken for granted. The debtor who gave up his freedom for fifty years (No. 25), or even for twenty (No. 28), could scarcely have any hope of ever becoming free again; cf. also Koschaker, Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. 42.1.90.

7. *šeršēretu* lit. "chains." If this interpretation is correct, the semantic development of this word would parallel almost exactly that of our "bondage." At all events, *š.* appears in this text in a sense new to the Akkadian lexicon; that the word is Hurrian is far less probable.

30

Document of daughtership and daughter-in-lawship of ^{f}Hashimmatka; ^{f}Kisaya the daughter of ^{f}Arimmatka, according to (her) word and declaration (lit. mouth and tongue) (?), ^{f}Kisaya (5) into daughtership and daughter-in-lawship to ^{f}Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya she gave. And ^{f}Tulpunnaya shall give ^{f}Kisaya into wifehood to whomever from among her slaves she chooses. If her first husband should die, to another man she will give her; (10) if the second man should die, to a third man she will give her; if the third

man should die, to a fourth man she will give her; if the fourth man should die (and so forth). And the belongings of fKisaya (shall become the property) of fTulpunnaya. And as long as fKisaya is alive (15) the house of fTulpunnaya she may not leave. And the complete money for fKisaya in accordance with the payment for wives(?) (bought) from fTulpunnaya, shall be paid. If fKisaya breaks the agreement and leaves the house of fTulpunnaya, one mina of silver and one mina of gold to (20) fTulpunnaya she shall pay as fine.

(21-47) Twenty witnesses, including Urhiya the scribe. Seven seals.

This is the first of four texts concerning the dealings of Tulpunnaya with Hashimmatka and her daughter Kisaya. That the girl did not prove to be a docile slave is shown in the next document and also in No. 33.

1. For *kallūtu* see now Gordon, ZA NF 9.152 f.

4. The reading *ù pí-šu* (the text appears to have *ù* EN-*šu*) is not certain, but it is favored by the following *li-ša-an-šú*; cf. also 33.10.

12. Something like KI.MIN has been omitted after the final *imtūt*; see also 42.13.

17. The end of the line, which runs over to the reverse is not entirely clear and the translation is in part conjectural. For the opposite situation cf. No. 35.

31

The tongue of fKisaya before these witnesses to fTulpunnaya spoke as follows: "Why to Mannuya the *upputu* (5) into wifehood have you given me? Remove me from Mannuya and give me to Arteya son of Awishkipa into wifehood." And this her declaration fKisaya (10) to Arteya son of Awishkipa into wifehood gave. And in the entrance of the gate of cTemtena the transfer was verily made and her word was made binding to the effect that fKisaya (15) was given to Arteya into wifehood.

(16-31) Names of seven witnesses are preserved in part, including that of Shershiya the scribe. Ten seals.

In view of the contract recorded in the preceding the legal basis for Kisaya's present action is puzzling.

4. The meaning of *upputu* (or *ubbutu*) is obscure. That the word designates an occupation is proved by a passage kindly supplied by Dr. Lacheman: *3 imēr še'a a-na 2* [LÚ MEŠ]*uḫ-bu-tum ša ālN*, SMN 3406.17-9. If this term is cognate with the LÚ*e-pu-ú* of SMN 3158.10, the meaning may be "baker." Would the LÚMU have to be read in these texts *epū* instead of *nuḫatimmu*?

13. With *šu-ti-iq* (cf. *lu ši-ti-i-iq*, also with *awāta rakāsu*, 57.9), *bukannu* is evidently to be understood, the entire phrase "passing the staff" being descriptive of a symbolical action signifying among other things the transfer of slaves; cf. San Nicolò, *Schlussklauseln* 24 f.

32

Thus ^{f}Kisaya daughter of Ariya (and) wife of Arteya, the slave-girl of ^{f}Tulpunnaya: "As for my son Inziteshup (5) (whom) I bore to Arteya, now to ^{f}Tulpunnaya I(!) have given (him)." And ^{f}Tulpunnaya has cut off the hem of ^{f}Kisaya. (10) If ^{f}Kisaya breaks the agreement (and) raises claims against ^{f}Tulpunnaya concerning Inziteshup, ^{f}Tulpunnaya shall retain Inziteshup as heretofore (15) and ^{f}Kisaya shall furnish to ^{f}Tulpunnaya ten Lullu women.

(17-39; 44) Fourteen witnesses. Eleven seals including that of Sin-idin the scribe.

(40-3) After the proclamation this tablet in front of the gate of ^{c}Temtenash was written.

1. In this tablet we find the name of Kisaya's father instead of the usual indication of descent from her mother.

8. The symbol whereby the contract is guaranteed is described here as the act of *sissikta batāqu* (for the phrase, cf. Koschaker NKRA 24). Elsewhere in the Nuzi texts *qanna mašāru* is used in the same connection; cf. NKRA 20 and Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. 42.1.16 note 3. Ordinarily, the act is performed by the party entering into obligation. Here, however, it is Tulpunnaya who cuts off the hem of Kisaya's garment in order to keep it as the symbol of the woman's personal guarantee that her son will not be withheld from Tulpunnaya; for this significance of the *sissiktu*, cf. Koschaker, ibid. 112 f. The two phrases as such are strictly parallel, and the question may be raised again as to the meaning of *mašāru*. Landsberger (in NKRA 20; cf. now also Koschaker, ZA NF 9.198) derives the verb from Delitzsch's *mašāru I* in the sense of "leave the impression of (the hem)," rather than "cut." The verb has nothing to do, of course, with *mašaru* "leave" (with *i*-preterit). But we have seen that *mašāru* occurs in these texts as a synonym of *galābu* "cut," cf. note at 1.42. Now since our texts say nothing about applying the *qannu* to the tablet, it would be simplest to translate the verb as "cut off," regarding it as parallel with *batāqu*.

14. For *kīmē ukālma ukāl*, cf. 21.15.

33

^{f}Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya with ^{f}Hashimmatka and ^{f}Kisaya (5) in a lawsuit before the judges appeared. And the witnesses of ^{f}Tulpunnaya spoke before the judges as follows: "Now both ^{f}Hashimmatka (10) and her daughter ^{f}Kisaya, their (!) tongues gave ^{f}Kisaya to ^{f}Tulpunnaya into daughtership and daughter-in-lawship. And ^{f}Tulpunnaya was to give ^{f}Kisaya (15) as wife at will. Thus ^{f}Tulpunnaya, if it pleased her, might give (her) away as wife (and) if her first husband died, to another man she could give (her); if the second man died, to a third man she could give (her); (20) if the third man died, to a fourth man she could give her. The house of ^{f}Tul-

punnaya she (fKisaya) was not to leave." Tayuki son of Hanikuya (25) Wurteya son of Hanukaya, Utḫaptae son of Tupkiya, Shennaya son of Teshshuya, Hanaya son of Enishtae, Tupkiya son of Rimusharri, (30) her six witnesses, were examined before the judges. And the judges deputies and Hashuar together with his witnesses dispatched to take the oath of the gods. From (35) the gods fHashimmatka and fKisaya shrank. In the lawsuit fTulpunnaya prevailed and fKisaya she got back.

(39-44) Signature of Shamash-ilu-rēshtū and four seals.

The declaration on which are based the claims of the present plaintiff was incorporated in the *mārtūtu* document that introduces the Tulpunnaya-Kisaya group (No. 30). In our translation the clauses concerning continual remarriage have been rendered this time in the past tense.

9 ff. The scribe became involved here with too many conjunctions. The general meaning is, of course, clear from the context and confirmed by No. 30. But the exact wording that was intended is doubtful owing to the scribe's difficulty with Akkadian. A literal translation "And fHashimmatka and his (!) daughter of fKisaya and his (!) tongue" would not have been of much help. Discarding confusion of gender as commonplace in these documents, we should still be obliged to consider some daughter of Kisaya as co-defendant in this suit, which is not the case at all. Finally, there is a question as to whose "tongue placed fKisaya as daughter and bride of fTulpunnaya." A semblance of order can be attained if the pronominal suffix after *lišān-* is regarded as yet another instance of confusing the singular for the plural.

24-33. All six witnesses listed here are found among those given at the conclusion of No. 30. Hashuar is known to us as the husband of Tulpunnaya (No. 15). It would appear that he had some part (and evidently a secondary one) in the business affairs of his wife. The mention of Hashuar's own witnesses is interesting. Does it indicate that of the nineteen (not counting the scribe) who are listed in No. 30, a number represented the interests of Hashuar?

36. The derivation and consequent meaning of *i-du-ra* have not been cleared up beyond all doubt. Owing to the notorious indifference of the Nuzi writers to any distinction (in writing at least) between voiced and voiceless stops, the choice lies between *tāru* "return" and *adāru* "fear," or "be troubled." The former interpretation is favored by the unambiguous writing in the Assyrian Laws (col. III 10, and ff.). But "return" causes difficulties in that the candidates for trial by ordeal or by oath, to whom the verb in question is applied, are known not to have submitted to the trial (the usual phrase is "did not consent to go"); for references cf. now Driver-Miles, Assyrian Laws xxiii notes 2 and 5, and p. 91. Now since one cannot literally "return" without ever having gone, Gadd and some later translators (including the present one) have been deriving the word from *adāru*, in spite of the Assyrian parallels; Gadd's translation "shrink from" (Gadd 106 line 31) has seemed particularly apt. Lately, a new interpretation of *tāru* ("to return before the actual trial") has been proposed by Driver-Miles, op. cit. 99 f. Less involved would be "to turn back on," which is favored by such passages as N. 326.16-9: *ù a-na ilāni*MEŠ *na-še-e la im-gur iš-tu ilāni*MEŠ X *id-du-ra* "and to take the oath of the gods he would not consent; from the gods X turned back." For unless we take *iddura* "he shrank" to be a reason for not consenting to go through with the trial, the sequence will favor "turn back." In a final

analysis, the sense is close to that of *adāru*; the derivation seems to be from *tāru*, with a possibility that the Nuzi scribes confused the homophonous preterits of the two verbs.

34

The tongue of Hanaya son of Tenteya before witnesses spoke: "My father Tenteya fHashunnaya (5) formerly to fSheltunnaya as slave-girl gave. And now fHinzuri, fAsuli, fPapaya, and Aripenni, these four persons who are available, (10) the offspring of fHashunnaya, together with their own offspring to fTulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya as male and female slaves I have assigned. And any (15) other descendants of fHashunnaya who are not available (at present), I have assigned them herewith to the said fTulpunnaya." And five *imēr* of barley, one *imēr* of emmer, fifty *qā* of wheat, one cover, two sheep, and four *qā* of oil fTulpunnaya to Hanaya as the price for these persons gave. If these persons (20) who (are mentioned) in this tablet have a claimant, Hanaya shall clear them and restore to fTulpunnaya. And if these persons, the offspring of Hashunnaya, (25) leave [the house] of fTulpunnaya, Hanaya shall clear them and return them to fTulpunnaya. [If] Hanaya breaks the agreement four persons [he shall furnish]. [If Hanaya] should raise claims [against] Tulpunnaya, (30) *x* talent(sic!) of silver he shall pay as fine. (Break)

(32-63) Twenty-two witnesses, including Urhiya the scribe. Ten seals.

6. This mention of the mother of Tulpunnaya as an active business woman tends to show that in this family the distaff side had been prominent also during the preceding generation. Incidentally, this reference carries us back to a Nuzi period from which contemporary documents seem to be lacking. The time would correspond to that of Puhishenni father of Tehiptilla.

8. The name *Arip-enni* combines the Hurrian elements for "give" and "god," and furnishes thus a partial parallel to names like Nathaniel or Theodor.

9. NAM.LÚ.LÚ.MEŠ (*nīšūtu*) is here used for "domestics" regardless of sex.

26. *uzakkāšunūti* is apparently an error for some other verb.

30. The poor condition of the text at this point leaves us in doubt as to whether the staggering fine of *x* talent(s) of silver was actually intended.

35

The tongue of Kip[..] son of Wantishshe before witnesses [spoke]: "The *teḫampašḫi*-money (5) of Aripenni from fTulpunnaya [I have received] and have declared (the transaction) completed (?). From this day on, concerning the *teḫampašḫi*-money (10) of Aripeni against fTulpunnaya I shall not raise claims."

(14-34) Fifteen witnesses, including Urhiya the scribe. Six seals.

4. In this line and in line 9 we find in *teḫampašḫi* a new term used with silver. Closely related to it, in view of the identical final elements, must be the *šurampašḫi* of 54.16. The latter type of money is obtained in a marriage agreement. In the present text the *t.*-silver is paid by Tulpunnaya in the name of one of her slaves (cf. No. 34.8), apparently for a wife.

36

Thus f[..]niya daughter of Naniya: "fWanimpi my slave-girl for a slave-girl to fTulpunnaya I gave. (Now) Shukriya I have added (5) and to fTulpunnaya I have given." At any time when Shukriya wishes to leave the house of fTulpunnaya, one sound person from the Lullu country (10) [....] in his stead f[..]niya shall deliver [and Shukriya she will] free. (A large portion destroyed)

(14-19) Six seals.

37

Mushteya son of Arillumti and Arpihe son of Mushteya for a price their servant Dūr-mardi to (5) fTulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya have given. And fTulpunnaya two *imēr* 24 *qā* of barley, one ox, and one talent of copper (10) to Mushteya and to his son Arpihe has given. If Dūr-mardi has a claimant, (15) Mushteya and Arpihe shall clear (him) and restore to fTulpunnaya. And if Dūr-mardi they do not clear, (20) then two men who are as capable as Dūr-mardi, from the Lullubian country, to fTulpunnaya they shall furnish. If Mushteya and his son (25) break the agreement, they shall pay double the money that they have been given (and) one mina of silver and one mina of gold they shall pay to Tulpunnaya (in addition).

(29-48) Fourteen witnesses, including Shamash-ilu-rēshtū the scribe. Six seals.

3. Dūr-mardi may represent perhaps Dūr-Amurri by the not unusual process of "phonetizing" the ideogram; cf. AK.K*i-la*, 59.39.

31. Akapshenni has the professional title of LÚ*ma-ru-zu*. Does it mean "confectioner"?

38

fTulpunnaya with Uthapshe son of Kaliya [in a lawsuit] before the judges appeared. (5) Thus fTulpunnaya: "Tae son of Aqawatil his son Tillaya into *ditennūtu* against one slave and against twelve sheep (10) to me gave. And subsequently Tae died and Uthapshe became heir." And the judges Uthapshe (15) questioned: "Did Tae [give] his son Tillaya into *ditennūtu* [to fTulpunnaya] against one slave (and) against twelve sheep?" (20) [And thus] Uthapshe: "Tae [did give his son] Tillaya into *ditennūtu.*" And fTulpunnaya produced Tae's [document] of *ditennūtu.* (25) [And] the

tongue of Uthapshe spoke in court in the presence of the judges: "As for me, my brother Tae made me heir." In the lawsuit fTulpunnaya prevailed and the judges (30) committed Uthapshe in accordance with his (i. e., Tae's) tablet and in accordance with his (own) declaration to fTulpunnaya for one slave and for the 12 sheep involved in the *ditennūtu* of Tae, because the fields and the buildings (35) of Tae Uthapshe had taken (over).

(36-38) Three seals.

Of principal interest in this text is the light which it throws on the responsibility of an heir for the testator's debts, even though such debts are adequately secured. The debtor's son had entered the creditor's house as *ditennu*. Upon his father's death the estate goes to an uncle (see below, under 27) who enters the scene as an *ewuru*-heir. Now it was apparently incumbent upon the latter to liquidate the *ditennūtu*, perhaps in accordance with some clause in the original agreement. But because he had taken over the estate without discharging this obligation (lines 34-5), the *ewuru* is now committed to the creditor for the amount of the original loan. The full legal implications of this decision and the question of the eventual fate of the *ditennu* are not within my province to discuss.

12. For *ewuru* see now JAOS 55.435 ff. The present heir is again one who does not appear to have been in the direct line of inheritance (hence the construction with *epēšu*?), and not the son of the deceased. Note that *ewurumma epēšu* is here passive, but apparently active in lines 27-8.

27. The two brothers have different fathers (cf. lines 2 and 6), unless Kaliya is a hypocoristicon for Akawatil, a very notable possibility.

39

fTulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya with fZammini daughter of Ilabriyash and with Wantiya son of Ilabriya concerning the offspring of fZammini, (5) that in reality (?) were born to Arrumpa slave of fTulpunnaya, in a lawsuit before the judges appeared, and thus fTulpunnaya: (10) "The offspring of fZammini to my slave Arrumpa were born." And the tongues of fZammini and of Wantiya before the judges (15) declared: "Yes, to Arrumpa the slave of fTulpunnaya they were born. In the lawsuit fTulpunnaya prevailed and the offspring (20) of fZammini that were born to Arrumpa [..] took.

(23-4 destroyed).

(25-9) Five seals.

Misinterpretation of fratriarchal rights is apparently responsible for the present lawsuit, inasmuch as Wantiya is the brother of the woman Zammini. Their father's name is given in the Hurrian nominative in line 2 and without the suffix *-š* in the next line. Cf. *cTemtenash*, 15.7 et al., and *cTemtena*, 41.5.

5. If *lu* is correct, the translation "in reality" reflects the approximate force of the statement.

40

fTulpunnaya daughter of [Sheltunnaya] with Amar-sha-ili the Habiru [..] in a lawsuit before the judges appeared, because Amar-sha-ili as slave (5) to fTulpunnaya had come, but (later) withdrew. And he appeared before the judges and the tongue of Amar-sha-ili before the judges declared: "As the slave of fTulpunnaya (10) I have entered. In the lawsuit fTulpunnaya prevailed and the judges, as regards Amar-sha-ili, in accordance with his own declaration, into slavery committed him.

(14-21) Seven seals and signature of Shumu-libshī the scribe.

2. The third sign of *ḫa-bi-ru-ú* is somewhat uncertain [a collation has confirmed the reading], but the Semitic name, the determinative, and the statement concerning self-enslavement leave no room for doubt that Amar-sha-ili is a Habiru. The name occurs also in N 39.16. To the occurrences of Habiru given by Chiera, AJSL 49.115-24 may be added also *še'u a-na sīsī ša Ḫa-bi-ru ša mātAq-qa-ti*, SMN 3191.19 f.

13. *it-ta-an-nu-uš* is doubtless a form of *nadū*, through the intermediate stage of *ittanduš*.

41

fTulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya with Killi son of Ehliya in a lawsuit before the judges (5) of cTemtena appeared. Irrigating water the irrigation officer had assigned to fTulpunnaya. But Killi cut (it) off and watered his own fields. (10) And because he had taken the irrigating water of fTulpunnaya and watered his own fields, and (because) the tongue of Killi declared before the judges, (15) "The irrigating water belonging to fTulpunnaya I took and my fields I watered," fTulpunnaya prevailed in the lawsuit and the judges Killi for one ox (20) to fTulpunnaya committed.

(22-31) Seals of eight judges and signature of Urhiya the scribe.

6. For the *k/gugallu*-officer (not to be read *su$_6$-kál-lu*), cf. also N 370.2.

42

Document of daughtership and daughter-in-lawship of fHanate slave-woman of fTulpunnaya; fHalpapusha the daughter of Shukrapu son of Arnamar, (5) now (her) fHiyarelli the wife of Shurapu into daughtership and daughter-in-lawship to fHanate maid of fTulpunnaya gave. And fHanate may give fHalpapusha into wifehood to whomever she chooses. To a slave as wife (10) she may give her. If the first husband should die, to another husband she may give (her); if the second husband should die, then to a third man she may give (her); if the third husband should die, (and so forth). And

the belongings of fHalpapusha (15) (shall become the property) of fHanate. (Thus) Shukrapu and thus fHiyarelli: fHanate from the street we recognized(?) and gave her fHalpapusha." (20) And fHanate shall treat fHalpapusha as a daughter of Arrapḫa; she shall not return her to (the status of) a slave-girl. If fHalpapusha has a claimant, Shukrapu (25) and fHiyarelli shall clear (her) and restore to fHanate. If Shukrapu and fHiyarelli break the agreement and against (30) fHanate concerning fHalpapusha raise claims, two Lullubian slave-girls to fHanate they shall furnish.

(34-51) Thirteen witnesses, including Urhiya the scribe. Five seals.

13. Something like KI.MIN has been omitted, or is to be understood after *imtūt*, precisely as in 30.12.

17 f. The primary sense of *ištu sūqi* is, of course, perfectly clear, but the legal significance and the full implications of an action performed "from the street," or "on the street." (54.12) are open to dispute. In his discussion of the passage in H I 26.4 ff. (*Fratriarchat* 28 n. 3) Koschaker calls attention to the series *ana ittišū* VII col III 7 f. where the taking "from the street" is applied to a hierodule. In the present context such an interpretation would obviously be impossible. For whatever might be the meaning of the following Hurrianizing phrase (*ilimtumma nīpuš*), it is used in this case by the couple under obligation as applied to the woman to whom they are obligated. The latter is apparently invested with some family rights (one is even tempted to connect the initial element with Hurrian *elli* "sister," though this is exceedingly problematic), as a result of which the daughter of the couple in question becomes the property of the party thus invested. Our translation "recognized" is purely ad sensum. The force of *ištu sūqi* would then be merely "publicly" (cf. FL 63 note 5), the reference being perhaps to some symbolical act performed before witnesses and becoming in consequence legally binding.

21. The treatment of a "daughter of Arrapḫa" is indicated in detail in Gadd 12. For a royal proclamation concerning the treatment of Arrapḫan serfs, cf. N 195.

43

fHanate slave-woman of fTulpunnaya with fHiyarelli [and] Shukrapu in a lawsuit before the judges concerning fHalpapusha (5) appeared, inasmuch as fHiyarelli and Shukrapu had given fHalpapusha to fHanate into daughtership. And the judges three times deputies (10) dispatched to them. Kari son of Akapshenni, Hanatu son of Kutanni, (and) Shimikari son of Nirpiya, (were) the three deputies of fHanate. But fHiyarelli did not consent to come.

In the lawsuit fHanate prevailed and the judges assigned fHalpapusha to fHanate.

(20-5) Five seals and signature of Amurriya the scribe.

The daughtership contract given in the preceding document leads to litigation. Hanate wins the suit by default.

44

Record of (marriage-)contract of fHanate; concerning fHalpapusha they drew up the (marriage-)contract, and fHanate (her) daughter (5) fHalpapusha gave to Irwihuta slave of fTulpunnaya into wifehood.

(8-32) Fifteen witnesses, including Sin-iqīsha the scribe. Twelve seals.

This contract may antedate the suit mentioned in the previous text, though the present sequence appears to be more probable.

45

Tablet of mutual agreement on the part of fAwishnaya wife of Arzizza and of Sheshwaya son of Arzizza; with Aripenni slave of fTulpunnaya (5) they reached (this) mutual agreement: Seven sheep, one she-ass with its she-foals, forty minas of copper, these Arzizza removed from the house of fTulpunnaya and to Mushteshup the son of the King he delivered. And himself (10) from the house of Mushteshup (a number of lines destroyed).

(11-22) There remain the names of five witnesses, including Shershiya the scribe. Seven seals.

Aripenni, whose transfer to Tulpunnaya as slave is discussed in Nos. 34-5, is now in a position to figure as a principal in business dealings. The entire transaction is somewhat involved, owing partly to the fact that a considerable portion of the tablet is now missing. Arzizza received a certain sum from Tulpunnaya. The amount involved was used by Arzizza to retire a debt due to Mushteya son of the King, with the evident result that Mushteya released Arzizza from his self-enslavement (*ditennūtu*). The missing part dealt apparently with the settlement effected by Arzizza's wife and son (following A.'s death?), whereby the old debt to Tulpunnaya was liquidated through some arrangement with Aripenni.

C. Oil Rations for the Gods

(Nos. 46-50)

The five texts comprising this group introduce us to an important aspect of the temple economy of Nuzi. They are lists of oil rations set aside for various deities, thus constituting a type not represented so far among the Nuzi records. But it is not the economical aspect alone that renders the present group unusually valuable. Far more significant is the circumstance that these inventories afford an unexpected insight into the Nuzi pantheon. Considerable light is shed upon the character of the gods recognized by the non-Semitic population of the district. Moreover, important components of the local personal names appear, as a result, in their proper significance. And

finally, our texts impart incidentally a certain amount of information bearing on the linguistic substratum at Nuzi.

As inventories, the texts before us offer little variation in contents. The same formula is repeated time and again, so that a translation of the entire group becomes unnecessary. Nor are the remarks which follow intended to be exhaustive. Realizing the outstanding importance of these texts, Dr. Lacheman has autographed them, and the plates will be published elsewhere in the near future. A more detailed discussion should await the publication of these copies.

As a sample of the present material, the brief text numbered 46 is given in translation.

46

^{d}IM, ^{d}Ishtar of Nineveh, ^{d}Nergal, ^{d}Ishtar Humella, these four gods of ^{c}Hilmani, (5) their(!) oil for a year, beginning with the month of Hiyaru, Urhiya the priest [the oil] has received. (10) (To last) till the (next) month of Hiyaru.

(12) Seal of Urhiya the priest.

The above four deities are grouped together in three of the four remaining texts, twice in Nos. 47 and 50. In tabular form the results may be presented as follows:

Deities: ^{d}IM (*Adad* or *Tešup*); ^{d}*Ištar Ninua-we* ^{d}*Nergal*; ^{d}*Ištar Ḫumella*

Passage	*City*	*Month*	*Priest*
46.1-12	*Ḫilmanu*	*Ḫiyaru*	*Urḫiya*
47.19-24	*Tilla*	*Ḫiyaru*	*Iṯḫizarwa*
47.25-32	*Hilmanu*	*Ḫiyaru*	*Tarmiya*
48.31-5	*Tilla*	*Ḫizzar-we*	*Nušapu*
50.21-5	*Tilla*	.....	.....
50.35-42	*Ḫilmanu*	.....	.....

In No. 49 the quartet is separated. The pair IM and Ishtar of Nineveh are cited in lines 14-5, while Nergal and Ishtar Humella appear in lines 22-4. The latter pair are linked again in 47.5-6 (^{c}Azuhinna), 48.7 (^{c}Azuhinna) and 14 (^{c}Aqash), and in 50.31-2 (^{c}Ezira). Together with another pair (^{d}*Sa-ri-e* and ^{d}*Ištar Tup-ki-il-ḫé*), they are mentioned also in 50.15-20 (^{c}Aqash). That these pairs are, for the most part at least, regarded as couples follows from 49.16-20: *1 uš-bi* NI DUG.GA *1 uš-bi* NI *el-lu a-na Bēl Ú-lam-me 1 uš-bi* NI DUG.GA *1 uš-bi* NI *el-lu a-na aš-šá-az-zu* "one *u.* of good oil, one *u.* of excellent oil for the Lord of ^{c}Ulamme, one *u.* of good oil, one u. of excellent oil his wife."

Two texts (47 and 48) are headed by a quartet of deities *ša* URU*A-zu-ḫi-in-ni* (i. e., the city of A(r)zuhinna). These are: d*Ku-ur-we-e* (so in 41.1; 48.1 has d*Gur-we-e*), d*Ku-mu-ur-we,* d*Ištar Ni-nu-a-we,* and d*A-ḫu-la-e.* In No. 47 the recipient is the *āšipu*-priest of the city of Azuhinna, while in No. 48 it is Paiteshup the *šangū* who receives the oil for these Azuhinna gods "in the month of Ginuni of cNuzi."

In addition to the Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar *Ḫumella* we find an d*Ištar Ak-ku-pa-we-ni-we* (47.6) and an d*Ištar Tup-ki-il-ḫé* (50.14). By the side of these manifestations of the goddess we have also the apparently independent d*Ak-ku-pa-e* (48.10) and d*Tup-ki-il-ḫé* (47.11). Obviously, these two are adjectival forms with the endings *-e* (for *-we,* ultimately a genitive ending; cf. Thureau-Dangin, Syria 12.257) and *ḫi/ḫé* respectively; they stand for "(Ishtar) of A." and "(Ishtar) the Ta.-an." No. 49 adds d*Ištar Pu-ta-ah-ḫé* (line 9) and d*Ištar Al-la-i-wa-aš-we* (line 30), with the same pair of endings. Finally, we have d*Ištar be-la-at du-ri* (49.6) and d*Ištar e/ir-wi-in* (49.19); for a possible connection between these two, see the notes below.

Before discussing some of the problems raised by these texts, we give a complete list of the deities, cities, and months mentioned in them.

a. Deities.

d*A-ḫu-la-e*, 47.2; 48.2.
d*Ak-ku-pa-e*, 48.10; cf. d*Ištar Ak.*
d*A-zu-i-iḫ-ḫe*, 47.10; 48.11.
Bēl Ú-lam-me, 49.18; *aš-šá-az-zu*, 49.20.
dIM, 46.1; 47.19, 25; 48.31; 49.12; 50.21, 35.
d*Ištar* (= U) *Ak-ku-pá-we-ni-we*, 47.6; cf. d*Ak-ku-pa-e.*
d*Ištar Al-la-i-wa-aš-we*, 50.30.
d*Ištar be-la-at du-ri*, 49.6.
d*Ištar e/ir-wi-in*, 48.19.
d*Ištar Ḫu-me/i-el-la*, 46.3; 47.5, 12, 21, 26-7; 48.7, 14, 33; 49.29; 50.5, 18, 32, 40.
d*Ištar Ni-nu-a-we*, 46.1; 47.2, 19, 25; 48.2, 31; 49.15; 50.1, 22, 37.
d*Ištar Pu-ta-aḫ-ḫe*, 49.9.
d*Ištar Tup-ki-il-ḫé*, 50.14; cf. d*Tup-ki-il-ḫé.*
d*Ku-mu-ur-we*, 47.1; 48.1.
d*Ku-ur-we-e*, 47.1; d*Gur-we-e*, 48.1.
d*Nergal* (NÈ.IRI.GAL), 46.2; 47.5, 12, 20, 26; 48.7, 14, 32; 49.22; 50.17, 24, 30, 38.
d*Sa-ri-i-e*, 47.11; d*Za-ri-i-e*, 48.19; 50.2; d*Sa-ri-e*, 47.16; 50.9, 15; d*Sa-ri-ú*, 48.12.
d*Til-la*, 49.3.
d*Ti-ir-we*, 47.7; 50.8.
d*Tup-ki-il-ḫé*, 47.11; 48.14; cf. d*Ištar T.*
dUTU (*-Šimika*?), 47.7; 48.20.
d*Za-ar-wa-an*, 47.10; 48.18.
d*Zi-i*-BIT (?)*-e* (= *Šībitti*?), 49.26; *aš-šá-az-zu*, 49.28.

b. Cities.

URU*A-qa-áš*, 47.14, 17; 48.17; 50.19.
URU*A-zu-ḫi-in-ni*, 47.3, 8; 48.3, 8, 21; 50.11.
URU[*E*]-*zi-ra*, 50.33.
URU*Ḫi-il-ma-ni*, 46.5; 47.28; 50.41.
URU*Til-la*, 47.23; 48.34; 50.26.
URU*Ú-lam-me*, 49.32.

c. Months.

Gi-nu-ni ša URU*Nu-zi*, 48.6, 27, 30; *Ḫi-iz-za-ar-we*, 48.34; *Ḫi-a-ri*, 46.7, 11; 47.32.

NOTES.

a. Deities.

d*Azuiḫḫe* may perhaps be connected with the city *Azuḫinna*; see below, under d*Tilla*. For a similar interrelationship cf. the feminine name *Itḫip-Nuzu*, N 505.5 with that of our city (*Nuzu/i*). In this connection may be noted the occurrence of a *bīt* d*Ištar Nu*-[*zu*] followed by *bīt* dIM[.] *Ḫal-pa-ḫi*, SMN 2730.2-5; cf. the position of Teshup of Halap (URU*Ḫal-pa-wa*$_a$-*an* d*Tešup*, Forrer, ZDMG 76.226), and his consort Hepit (Götze, Kleinasien 124).

Bēl-Ulamme reminds Dr. P. M. Purves, who as a member of my seminar has made a study of the non-Semitic personal names from Nuzi, of the second element in *Aripbēlamme*, N 411.24. Inasmuch as that element plainly refers to some deity, a connection with *Bēl-Ulamme* (with haplology in the longer personal name; for a parallel process, cf. the form *Šamuḫi* for *Šamuḫaḫi*, Friedrich, Analecta Orientalia 12.124 note 3) is entirely probable.

dIM: The pairing of the Storm god with Ishtar of Nineveh (for the latter, cf. Götze, op. cit. 125 note 10), recalls the analogous linking of Teshup with Hepit in the Boghazköi texts (ibid.).

d*Ištar* (U): The connection of Ishtar with *Akkupae* and *Tupkilḫe* follows from the compounds in which *Ištar* constitutes the first element and *A.* or *T.* the second. The latter terms may represent cities, and similar geographic designations may be suspected in *Al-la-i-wa-aš-we* and in *Pu-ta-aḫ-ḫe*; cf. also d*Ištar Lu-ub-dù-ḫi*, H III 231.19, and see JAOS 55.443 note 38; for the significance of the suffix *-ḫi*, cf. Friedrich, op. cit. 121 ff. Instead of localizing the goddess, however, some of the identifying adjectives may indicate epithets or attributes of the deity. This is self-evident in the case of *bēlat dūri*. As for *ir-wi-in*, a similar connotation is equally clear. That *irwi* (*iwri* in West Hurrian) means "king, lord," has been known for some time (cf. JAOS 55.437 f.). The final *-n* is of particular interest. Its value is apparently that of a definite article, corresponding to that of the well-known Hurrian suffix *-ni* (Thureau-Dangin, Syria 12.254 ff.). d*Ištar-irwin* is, then, to be translated as "Ishtar, the Lady." Does this correspond to d*Ištar-bēlat* (*-dūri*)?

d*Kumurwe*: The normal Boghazköi form of this name, which represents the father of the Hurrian pantheon, is *Kumarpi*; cf. Götze, op. cit. 125, and note 11. For the interchange of *a* and *u* in the non-Semitic names from Nuzi, see Berkooz, OPNA, under "Vowels," and cf. my note in JAOS 55.436 note 17 (on *ewuru*). As for the Western preference for the writing of the labial with *p*-containing signs as against the East Hurrian *w* + vowel (PI), I need only call attention for the present to *Pentešina-Wan-*

tišenni. For the final vowel of *Kumurwe*, cf. d*Ku-mar-we*$_e$, KUB XXVII 38 col. iv 21. The precedence of *Kurwe* over *Kumurwe* merits special mention.

d*Nergal*: The juxtaposition of this god and d*Ištar Ḫumella* is significant. The latter may correspond to d*Ereškigal-Allatum* of the Babylonian pantheon. In the Nuzi personal names Nergal appears as *Ugur* (cf. the common *Arip-Ugur*, *Iṯḫip-Ugur*, and the like, but since *Ugur* is hardly the local reading of the ideographic group dNÈ.IRI.GAL), we may conclude that the proper names with *Ugur* represent at best an earlier phase of borrowing or adaptation than the Akkadian elements in the Nuzi pantheon.

d*Tilla*: Note the city by the same name in 47.23; 48.34; 50.26. Dr. Purves reminds me that Clay discussed a god and a city *Tilla* in his Personal Names of the Kassite Period 28 note 1.

d*Tirwe* and d*Zarwe*(+ *an*) are common elements in our personal names; cf. e. g., the priest *Iṯḫi-zarwe*, 47.22. The determinative for god is omitted, of course, in such names in accordance with the customary treatment of Hurrian and Hurrianized divine elements.

dUTU: The correct reading may be *Šimika*, which is very common in the personal names. Cf., however, the remarks on d*Nergal*; hence the reading *Šamaš* is by no means impossible.

d*Zi-i*-BIT(?)-*e*: The reading *Šībitti* is doubtful, but not improbable.

b. Cities.

The name of the city which is known in Assyrian inscriptions as *Ar/urzuḫīna* is written in these texts URU*A-zu-ḫi-in-ni* (in the gen.). The absence of the *r* (cf. also d*Azuiḫḫe*) is worthy of notice. But whatever the reason for it, the present writing gives no encouragement to the theory that the name is to be interpreted as *Aḫi-nārZuḫīna* (cf. RLA I 165 b), for which the sole support is the pretentious orthography of the eponym lists; the variant form *Urzuḫīna* is alone sufficient to discredit the above etymology. For the position of the city, cf. Albright, JAOS 45.209 f.

c. Months.

For the Nuzi months, see provisionally Gordon, Rivista degli studi orientali 15.254 ff.; the article has to be brought up to date and is in need of several important corrections. Our *Ḫi-iz-za-ar-we* has no connection, of course, with the personal name *Iṯḫi-Zarwe* (see above). It represents instead Nuzi ITU*Ḫinzuriwe*, cf. Gordon, op. cit. 256. *Ginunu* may well represent West Semitic *Kinūnu*, as is suggested by Gordon, loc. cit.; it should be noted, however, that in Nuzi the writing *gi*, with which sign this month-name is always begun, is not to be confused with *ki;* cf. Berkooz, OPNA, under "Orthography." There need be no doubt, on the other hand, as to the Western connections of the third name on the list, viz., *Ḫiyaru*; it corresponds to Phoenician *Ḥiyār*; for a list of Phoenician months, cf. Langdon, Babylonian Menologies 25.

d. Varia.

The measures *ušbi* (No. 49) and *ušbi* GAL (No. 50) are not known otherwise. Oil is measured at Nuzi by the *tallu*, which may contain eight or ten *qā*, or else by the *sūtu*-measure of eight or ten *qā*, cf. No. 89. The ending *-bi* is shared with *nu-bi* "10,000," cf. No. 90, which in turn recalls the Urartean word for "10,000" *atibi*. But any morphological connection between the measure and the number must be regarded at present as improbable.

D. Miscellaneous Texts

(Nos. 51-100)

The first half of the texts published in this volume comprised, as we have seen, three well-defined groups: The People of Nuzi vs. Mayor Kushshiharbe, The Archives of Tulpunnaya, and Oil Rations for the Gods. The selections for all three sections were inclusive, in that every available text relating to them was incorporated for the sake of completeness. In the present group, on the other hand, a different principle has been followed. Care has been exercised not to include any documents that would essentially duplicate material previously published. It will be found, therefore, that each of the following fifty texts contributes in some way to our knowledge of Nuzi topics. The individual contributions vary considerably. They may throw fresh light on certain aspects of family or business law, or on certain details of legal procedure; our insight into Nuzi economy is greatly improved by the addition of a number of brief records of a type that is all but absent from the private archives on which Nuzi publications have hitherto drawn so heavily; and finally, some of the texts offer little of topical interest, but are important linguistically by illustrating the origin, meaning, or form of some word, phrase, or proper name.

The arrangement of the material will be indicated by a rapid analytical survey of the main subdivisions. Nos. 51-59 relate to family laws in general, including sale-adoptions. Heading the group is a royal edict regulating the disposal of the daughters of the palace slaves and domestics (No. 51). There follow daughtership, sistership, and marriage contracts, and sale-adoptions explicit or implied. Special attention may be called to the important *aḫātūtu*-text No. 54, and to the marriage document with the clause about the symbolical transfer of the *bukannu*.

Nos. 60-7 deal with *ditennūtu*-transactions. Nos. 68-9 are two interesting declarations in court, the first recording the cancellation of a *mullū*-fine, and the other bearing the rubric *tuppi ša ḫuzzuzi*. Nos. 70-5 contain or relate to lawsuits. Of particular interest are numbers 74-5. Both lead to trials by the river ordeal, with the death penalty facing the loser. The dispute between two women, which is the subject of No. 75, is marked by unusual bitterness.

No. 76 is a letter referring to gleaning rights on the part of the lower classes of Nuzians. But while the subject matter is reminiscent of the book of Ruth, there is nothing idyllic about the outcome. For these rights are allegedly abused and the gleaners end up by being prosecuted as thieves.

The last twenty-four texts are strictly economic in character. Nos. 77-9 deal with merchants, No. 77 being of particular interest on account of its

mention of "Canaanite" wool. Nos. 80-2 pertain to metals withdrawn from the official storage place. Nos. 83-4 deal with chariots, No. 85 relates to the manufacture of furniture, No. 86 contributes new technical terms used with certain domestic animals, and Nos. 87-8 are important for our understanding of the Nuzi laws of agrarian partnership. Nos. 89-91 deal respectively with sesame, reeds, and barley deposited for safe-keeping. Nos. 92-94 pertain to debts, and Nos. 95-6 record the purchase and subsequent delivery of a Lullu slave-girl. No. 97 record the loan of certain metals on interest. Finally, the last three texts (Nos. 98-100) are inventories of horses, which contribute a number of technical terms used in this highly specialized department.

Detailed discussions of individual topics and problems will be found in the notes appended to each text.

51

This (is) the proclamation concerning the slaves of the palace and the domestics of the palace, the old one: (5) Thus the King: "No one, whether slave of the palace or domestic of the palace, his daughter as orphan and as harlot (10) without (the permission of) the King shall cause to go out. Whosoever, a slave of the palace, his daughter as orphan and as harlot without (the permission of) the king has sent forth, (15) his daughter for orphanhood and harlotry has given up, they shall bring (him) to the palace, and another daughter of his for possession (20) to the palace, because he had taken away (the other one), they shall take (her); and as for him, a fine in addition to her (25) they shall impose on him. And this document shall be read to them every third year or every fourth year, (30) lest it be forgotten."

(31-2) Seals of Heltipapu and of Kartiperwi.

1. We expect *šūdūtu* in place of *šadūtu*; cf. N 195.12: *šarru ul-te-di-mi.*

17. Text has *i*-lu-*ša-aš-še*, which is clearly an error. The reading *-ki-*, which calls for only a slight change, yields *iqīš-* with the entirely pertinent meaning "dedicate to, give up for."

27-8. "Three and four" may have the same generalizing value as in Hebrew; cf. e. g., Prov. 30.18.

52

Thus (declares) Hanizu, servant of fUzna: "fHashillu, my daughter, into daughter(ship) to (5) fUzna, wife of Ennamati, I (!) have given. And fUzna two *imēr* seven *sātu* of barley, one garment, as payment for fHashillu to Hanizu has given. (10) If fHashillu has a claimant, Hanizu shall clear (her), to Uzna he shall give (her). And fUzna (15) shall not make fHashillu into a slave-girl. If fHashillu has run away, Hanizu for fHashillu (20) shall

search, shall produce (her), to fUzna he shall deliver (her). If Hanizu fHashillu (25) does not clear, or does not seek (her) and deliver (her) to fUzna, then fUzna shall pluck out the eyes of Hanizu."

(30-34) Four seals, including that of Turarteshup the scribe, son of Ithapihe.

6. *ittadin*: note 3rd person for 1st.

18. *birankumma ippušuš*: another construction with *-umma epēšu*. Here the phrase is obviously a synonym of *innabit*, which gives us the value "flee" for Hurrian *b/pirank-*.

53

Thus the men of cAnzugallu: "That fNanaya (5) is the daughter of Hanaya we can testify; but as for her estate and her children we have no knowledge."

(9) One seal.

54

The tongue of fKunyashu daughter of Hutteshup before these witnesses spoke as follows: (5) "Formerly Akammushi gave (me) away into wifehood and forty shekels of silver due for me from my husband he received. And now Akammushni and my husband are (!) dead. (10) And now, as for me, Akiya son of Hutteshup (in a) 'my sister!' (act) upon the street seized (me and) a sistership(-guardian) over me he became; (15) into wifehood he will give (me). Ten shekels of his *šurampašḫi* silver from my husband he shall receive. Whosoever (20) among them breaks the agreement shall pay a fine of one mina of gold. The tablet was written in the entrance of the Great Gate of cNuzi.

(24-30) Signature of Teshupnirari. Five seals.

This document has an obvious bearing on certain problems of family organization among the Nuzians, particularly with respect to fratriarchal rights. The principal drawback to a completely satisfactory solution of these problems is the involved style of the relevant records, including the present one. This applies specifically to the decisive passages. Inasmuch as these passages are almost identically phrased, to the point of reproducing the same un-Akkadian idioms, the conclusion is justified that the phraseology was modeled after the underlying Hurrian, the more so since the social institution involved goes back to the same immediate source (cf. Koshaker, Fratriarchat 84).

There is no doubt about the facts leading up to the present deposition. Both the former guardian (evidently brother, or perhaps purchaser) of the woman Kunyashu and her husband have died. Now her brother Akiya obtains fratriarchal power over her with the right to sell her to another husband. What is obscure is the manner in which that power is obtained, not to mention the juristic implications. Does Akiya assert his rights by "seizing the woman on the street," as the text now reads, or is it Kunyashu who takes the initiative (taking the verb with *anāku* and regarding its

first person as yet another Nuzi instance of confusion with the third person)? For the latter alternative we would have parallels in Gadd 31.2-4 and H I 26.4-7; the sequel to the symbolical act thus indicated is the same in all three instances: *ù a-na a-ḫa-tù-ti a-na ya-ši i-te-pu-uš(-mi)*, (except that H I 26.7 reads *e-te-pu-uš-mi*). The consistent use of *ana yāši* would be incongruous if the verb were taken in its correct transitive sense; we have here evidently a further instance of the stative conception of the verb after the apparent model of Hurrian (see Appendix B), i. e., "he became," rather than "he made." But this merely increases the ambiguity of the first part of the sentence. For further details, cf. the following remarks to the individual passages. In passing, we may point out that, for all its syntactic obscurities, the text before us bears out clearly Koschaker's view of *aḫātūtu*, as expressed in op. cit. 31 f.

9. The explicit statement concerning the death of Kunyashu's previous masters suggests that this is a necessary prerequisite in all similar *aḫātūtu* situations, precisely as maintained by Koschaker, loc. cit.

11. As shown by his patronymic, Akiya is a brother of Kunyashu. Consequently, the following *a-ḫa-ti-ya* may be a mistake for *a-ḫi-ya*. In the translation the text is regarded as correct and *aḫatiya* is taken as an exclamatory expression signifying the character of the act in question.

12. For *ina sūqi* cf. the remarks to 42.17.

13. In this case *aḫātūtu* refers not to blood relationship but to a social institution whereby a man may obtain "sistership"-rights; as we have seen, Akiya was Kunyashu's brother to begin with.

16. Note that the amount specified this time is only a fourth of the previous purchase price. For *šurampašḫi*, cf. the similar term in 35.4. The pronominal suffix (*-šu*) proves that the word refers to a type of payment and not a grade of silver. Cf. also 55.33.

55

Record of (marriage-)contract of Zilikkushu son of Ahuya and of Shukriteshup son of Turshenni; between them they effected (this) contract. Accordingly, Shukriteshup his sister (5) fHaluya into wifehood to Zilikkushu has given; and Zilikkushu thirty shekels of *ḫašaḫušennu* silver to Shukriteshup shall pay. And fShehalitu daughter of fHaluya into wifehood to Akkata son of Zilikkushu Shukriteshup (10) has given. And Zilikkushu twenty shekels of *ḫašaḫušennu* silver to Shukriteshup shall pay and the remaining twenty shekels (due) for fShehalitu in her girdle have been tied up and (15) released to fShehalitu. The tongue of fHaluya before witnesses spoke as follows: "Myself into wifehood he (or I!) gave, and my daughter (20) fAmsharelli into wifehood to Shukriteshup son of Zilikkushu I have given." If fHaluya or if fShehalitu have a claimant, then Shukriteshup shall clear them, (25) to Zilikkushu he shall restore them. If fAmsharelli has a claimant, then fHaluya shall clear (her and) restore to Zilikkushu. And Zilikkushu (30) another wife in addition to fHaluya shall not take. And Zilikkushu fifty shekels of silver, as afore-mentioned, *ḫašaḫušennu* for fHaluya and for fShehalitu, (35) in instalments of five shekels year by year to Shukriteshup shall pay until he

has [paid it] off (?). Thus fHaluya: "fKanzushshalli my daughter to Zilikkushu (40) I have born and now fKanzushshalli into daughtership to said Zilikkushu I have given." Whosoever among them breaks the contract with regard to (any) words that they have spoken (45) shall pay as fine *x* mina(s) of gold. The tablet was written in the entrance of the Zizza gate in c[...].

(49-62) Seven witnesses, including Turarteshup the scribe and Tayani the gatekeeper. Six seals.

This interesting document may appear involved at first because of the number of persons mentioned in it, but the situation is easily clarified. The principals are Shukriteshup and his sister Haluya on the one hand, and Zilikkushu on the other. The latter obtains Haluya as wife upon payment to her brother of the rather low price of thirty shekels of silver. He also acquires from Shukriteshup one Shehalitu, daughter of Haluya, the girl to become the wife of Akkata son of the purchaser. The purchase price, which amounts in this case to the normal sum of forty shekels, is to be divided into two equal parts, one half going to Shukriteshup and the other to the prospective daughter-in-law, in whose girdle (*qannu*; or is it simply "hem"?) it is to be tied up as dowry (cf. H I 80.13 and FL 23 f.; see also Gordon, ZA NF 9.157 f.). So much for the contract between Shukriteshup and Zilikkushu, which has Haluya's approval (lines 17-22). Further provision is made concerning two other daughters of Haluya. This time it is Haluya who disposes of them, her brother having apparently no legal rights in the matter. One of these girls by the name of Amsharelli is assigned a son of Zilikkushu whose name is also Shukriteshup. It is significant that whereas the elder Shukriteshup is responsible for honoring all debts held against Haluya and Shehalitu that happen to antedate the present contract, Haluya herself assumes such responsibility for Amsharelli. Nor does the latter bring any daughtership price. That the union between Zilikkushu and Haluya, both of whom had children from previous marriages, was not solely some disguise for a business transaction, is shown by the fact that Zilikkushu may not take another wife (lines 30-1). Finally, Haluya cedes to Zilikkushu the parental rights to Kanzushshalli, her third daughter.

1. For our Zilikkushu, and the several spellings of the name, cf. 60.2.

6. The brother receives for his sister only thirty shekels of silver. Together with the twenty shekels that he is to get as his half of the total sum for Shehalitu, the amount due from Zilikkushu is fifty shekels (line 32).

17. The force of *ramannima* is most likely, though asyntactically, subjective ("I myself," i. e., with my consent), rather than objective ("me" would be *yāši*; note also *attadin*, line 22); for the juristic sense of such statements, cf. Koschaker, Fratriarchat 33).

33. The phrase *kaspu annūtu ša qabū ḫašaḫušennu ša Ḫ. ū ša Š.* would seem to speak in favor of my former suggestion (FL 22 f.) that *ḫašaḫušennu* signifies the nature of the payment in question and not some quality of silver; the former is certainly true of *teḫampašḫi* and *šurampašḫi*, cf. note to 35.4. But Koschaker's remarks on the subject (Fratriarchat 32 note 1) cannot be ignored, and my previous interpretation is no longer tenable.

40. Does *attalazzu* mean that Kanzushshalli was actually the daughter of Zilikkushu by Haluya? The context makes this exceedingly improbable. The alternative is to regard this declaration as a polite form of transfer of parental rights.

56

Tarmiya son of Huya with Shukriya and with Kulahupi, with (these) two of his brothers, sons of Huya, on account of the slave-girl f[Zululi-Ishtar] (5) in a lawsuit before the judges of cNuzi appeared, and thus Tarmiya before the judges spoke: "My father Huya was ill and on (his) couch (10) he lay. And my hand my father seized and thus to me he spoke, 'The other sons of mine are older (and) wives they have taken. But you have not taken a wife. (15) So Zululi-Ishtar as your wife to you herewith I am giving.'" And the judges witnesses of Tarmiya requested. [And Tarmiya] his witnesses [before the judges] (20) produced: .. son of Hurshaya, .. son of Ekkiya, .. son of Itrusha, (and) .. son of Hamanna, (25) [these] witnesses of [Tarmiya] were examined before the judges. And the judges to Shukriya and to Kulahupi spoke: (30) "Go and (against) the witnesses of Tarmiya take the oath of the gods. From the gods Shukriya and Kulahupi shrank, and in the lawsuit Tarmiya (35) prevailed [and] the judges assigned the slave-girl Zululi-Ishtar to Tarmiya.

(38-41) Three seals and signature of Iliya.

In this very vivid and appealing document a younger brother is successful in retaining possession of his wife, a former slave-girl of his father; the latter had presented her to the boy, for whom he is said to have had much affection, as he lay on his deathbed. The elder brothers dispute the grant, but desist when confronted with the oath of the gods.

8 ff. The homely picture of a father who senses the approach of death and reaches out for the hand of his youngest son, and then speaks to him tenderly, is unique in cuneiform literature. It is a worthy forerunner of the Benjamin episodes in the Old Testament.

17. Note the singular ending of *ši-bu-ta*. For *in/mtanū* "examined," rather than "counted," or "were confirmed," cf. *mihṣišūnu imtanū* "their wounds they examined," 72.14-16, and see also *mitinnū* in a similar context, H II 10.12.

57

The tongue of fAshta[..] daughter of Kisht[a...] before [.] witnesses spoke as follows: (5) "Myself into wifehood to Beltari I(!) have given." Her word has been made binding, and the transfer has verily been made. (10) And these are the men of the contract.

(11-37) Eleven witnesses, including Utangal the scribe. Seven seals.

This badly preserved tablet is interesting chiefly in that it contains the clause *awāssu rakis ū lū šītiq* (lines 8-9), a virtual repetition of 31.13-4. Both documents deal with marriage, the latter one between slaves. Was the use of (*bukannu*) *šūtiq* restricted in Nuzi to marriage contracts, and specifically so between slaves?

58

Tablet of adoption of Ehelteshup son of Kipaya; Uṯḫaptae son of Artura he adopted. As his inheritance-share, woods inside (5) ᶜNuzi by the fort, twenty-five cubits in length and *x* cubits in width, south of the woods of Kizziri, north of the woods of Shehalteshup, below the wall and (10) above the woods of the same Shehalteshup, to Uṯḫaptae he has given. And Uṯḫaptae forty minas of lead (and) eight sheep as his reward to Ehelteshup has given. If the woods (5) have a claimant, then Ehelteshup shall clear those woods and restore (them) to Uṯḫaptae. If the woods are large, he shall not curtail (them); if the woods are small, he shall not increase (them); the feudal tasks (20) of the woods Ehelteshup shall bear, and Uṯḫaptae shall not bear. A (plot of) *paiḫu*-land inside Nuzi by the fort, twenty-five cubits in length and nine cubits in width, (25) [..] Ehelteshup son of Kipaya [into] woods shall transform. And Ehelteshup woods which are like his (?) (30) [..] shall produce. Until the woods of Ehelteshup for(?) Uṯḫaptae he has produced, Ehelteshup shall not free himself from these woods. (35) When the *paiḫu*-land of Uṯḫaptae has been made like the woods of Ehelteshup, forthwith Ehelteshup (40) from his woods shall go free. And these woods of Ehelteshup promptly Uṯḫaptae shall take. Whoever between them breaks the agreement, one mina of silver (45) (and) one mina of gold he shall pay as fine. The tablet was written after the proclamation in ᶜNuzi.

(48-55) Seven witnesses, in addition to Aripsharri the scribe.

(55-8) These are the seven men who surveyed the woods and paid out the money.

(59-66) Seals of the above.

A combination of scribal incompetence and of breaks in the text renders uncertain the very passages on which the interpretation of the whole document must depend. It is clear, at any rate, that we have here a *marūtu* added to a *ditennūtu*. By virtue of the former Uṯḫaptae receives from Ehelteshup a certain orchard. Now U. secures also the services of E. for the purpose of transforming an uncultivated piece of ground, which is located in the same section and has apparently the same measurements, into an exact counterpart of the "inheritance share" in question. Until E. has accomplished this task, he is to remain the *ditennu* (the term is not actually employed) of U.

4. GIŠḪI.A MEŠ is used in this text consistently in place of *kirū*, not unlike our own "woods."

5. The *gerḫu* of Nuzi refers apparently to some walled part of the city. An extensive military organization is reflected in numerous unpublished texts which deal with soldiers, chariots, horses, and weapons.

22. *eqlu paiḫu* signifies manifestly "uncultivated land," this translation being supported by the more common *qaqqaru paiḫu*.

24. The number *9* is doubtless to be read also in line 6. The special virtue of a plot measuring exactly twenty-five cubits by nine cubits escapes us.

29. What the scribe had in mind was something like *kīma iṣi*MEŠ *šāšu mašlu*; cf. lines 36 f.

32. Instead of *ù* we expect here *ana*; *ù* is out of place also in line 42.

38. For *šurrumma* see Koschaker (and Landsberger), Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wis. 42.1.88 note 2; but cf. already FL 60 (ad H I 80.32).

59

If Enniku and Akapshenni, the sons of Shimikari, on account of the lands and houses of their father Shimikari (5) against Huya, against the children of Huya, (and) against the children's children of Huya raise complaints, ten minas of silver and ten minas of gold they(!) shall pay as fine. If Huya (10) after Enniku and after Akapshenni shouts, "Go, bear the feudal tasks of his houses [and lands]," ten minas of silver (and) ten minas of gold he shall pay. (15) And Enniku and Akapshenni wrote this tablet and gave it to Huya.

(18-39) Fourteen witnesses. Seven seals, including that of Nabū-ila the scribe.

The dramatic form of this declaration (without any introduction), the provision for all subsequent generations, the size of the stipulated fine, the assigning of the *ilku* to the new owner, and the novel statement about the authorship of the text (lines 16-7), are all details worthy of special notice. Following are a few other items of interest:

9 ff. In this passage the phrase *ina arki X šasū* is used virtually in its literal sense "shout after one."

13. In *našātū-mi* we have an interesting form of the second person plural permansive, without the afformative *-ni*. Of infinitely greater significance, however, is the fact that we have here the sequence of imperative + copula + permansive, or almost precisely as in Hebrew with the *wāw* conversive and perfect consecutive (the Heb. equivalent would be in the present instance *leḳū ūneśāṭem*).

39. dAK.K*i-la* is a curious hybrid writing for d*Nabū-ila*. The customary writing is dAK.DINGIR.RA (passim), and the present accusative rendering is very important, if it is not merely a scribal caprice; for it would represent the predicate in a nominal sentence "Nabū is god"; cf. my remarks in JAOS 56.35. In 4.25 and in a text published recently by Lacheman, JAOS 55 plate III (following p. 431), Left Edge, we read dAK.KA.DINGIR.RA with the Sumerian complement preserved in KA corresponding to our present K*i* (to transcribe thus the third sign of the name).

60

Document of *ditennūtu* of Zilikkushu son of Huya; accordingly, himself into *ditennūtu* for ten years into the house (5) of fUzna wife of Ennamati he caused to enter. And fUzna thirty-five minas of lead, one *imēr* of barley, and one *imēr* of wheat into *ditennūtu* to (10) Zilipkushuh has given. When (his) ten years in the house of fUzna have elapsed, thirty-five minas of lead,

one *imēr* of barley, and one *imēr* of wheat, the money (15) specified in the tablet of Zilipkushuh, to fUzna he shall return and himself from the house of fUzna he will free. If the work of fUzna (20) a single day Zilipkushuh leaves, one mina of copper, the compensation day by day, Zilipkushuh to fUzna shall pay as fine. (25) Thus Zilipkushuh: "If I am not available, then fUzna may seize my sons, daughters, and wife, and the money and the compensation for him to fUzna they shall furnish." The buildings of Zi(li)k-kushuh (30) bail for Zilipkushuh (shall constitute). The tongue of Zilip-kushuh before witnesses spoke as follows: "The money specified in the tablet from fUzna I have received."

(34-47) Eight witnesses. Six seals.

2. From the same Zilip/kkushu(h) we have the valuable marriage document No. 55, where the name is written consistently *Zi-li-ik-ku-šu*. In addition to that form we have in the present text *Zi-lip-ku-šu-uḫ* (lines 10, 15, 20, 23, 30), and *Zi-ik-ku-šu-uḫ* (line 29, where *li* may however have been omitted accidentally). The loss of *ḫ* in the second element of the name is found also in *A-ri-ku-šu*, H I 64.15 and N 220.21, as against *A-ri-ku-šu-uḫ*, N 242.19 and 270.25; cf. also *Urḫi-Kušuḫ*, 6.2.5. For still another form of *Kušu(ḫ)*, cf. *A-ri-ku-šu-up/w-we-e*, N 550.2; see Berkooz, OPNA, under "Velars." The first element (*zil-*, cf. the common *zil-ip-*,) is probably to be connected with Hurrian *zell-ik-uḫlu* "witness," on which see now Gordon, JBL 54.141 note 9, and Koschaker, OLZ 1936, col. 156. In *-zilakku* and *-ziluk* we may have the same element in substantival form, as epithet of a deity.

27. Note the non-Semitic use of a single *-ya* with three nouns.

28. The *-šu* of *uriḫul* applies of course to the man and not to the money.

29 f. The use of the distinctively personal concept of *māḫiṣ pūti* in connection with houses is etymologically incongruous, although it is certain to prove of interest to the jurist.

61

(Case)

(Document of) Elhiptasheni

(Tablet)

Document of *ditennūtu* of Urhiya son of Akitilla; accordingly, his son Elhiptasheni into *ditennūtu* for (5) five years to Kulahupi son of Arteya he has given. And Kulahupi forty minas of lead (and) ten minas of bronze likewise into *ditennūtu* to Urhiya has given. (10) If there is a claim against Elhiptasheni, then Urhiya shall clear (it), to Kulahupi he shall restore (him). If Elhiptasheni (15) should leave the work of Kulahupi for a single day, one mina of copper, the compensation day by day, Urhiya to Kulahupi (20) shall pay as fine. When the five years (of) Elhiptasheni in the house of

Kulahupi (have elapsed), forty minas of lead and ten minas of bronze (25) Urhiya to Kulahupi shall return and his son from the house of Kulahupi he shall free. Whoever breaks the agreement, one sound ox (30) he shall pay as fine. The tablet was written after the proclamation inside ᶜNuzi in the palace entrance. If Elhiptasheni should run away or be lost, (35) then Urhiya shall replace (him).

(36-53) Eight witnesses, including Tarmiteshup the scribe. Seals of the above and of Akiptilla.

(Case). For the restoration, cf. e.g., H I 41.

8. We have here further evidence that the *kaspu* obtained against real estate may be described as given likewise (*-ma*) into *ditennūtu*, a circumstance that seems to favor my interpretation of the term as "possession," cf. JAOS 52.361.

28. In the present context *ušēṣū* has the specialized value of "free," see ibid. 360 and cf. Heb. *yāṣā'*, Ex. 21: 3, etc.

34. For this clause see the reference ad 27.10.

62

Document of *ditennūtu* of Akiptilla son of Ki(?)pariya; his son Kinniya into *ditennūtu* for five years (5) Akiptilla gave to Urhikushuh son of the King. Three *imēr* of emmer (and) one *imēr* fifty *sila* of barley Urhikushuh to Akiptilla has given. (10) When the five years have expired, Akiptilla shall return to Urhikushuh three *imēr* of emmer (and) one *imēr* five *sātu* of barley (and) his son Kinniya he shall take back. (15) If the work of Urhikushuh for a single day Kinniya should leave, one mina of copper as compensation day by day Akiptilla (20) to Urhikushuh shall pay as fine. The tongue of Akiptilla before these witnesses spoke as follows: "One *imēr* of emmer (and) (25) one *imēr* five *sātu* of barley from Puhishenni son of Mushapu, the *amumiḫuru* of Uhhikushuh I have received and have been compensated in full.

(30-5) Six witnesses, including Elhiptilla the scribe.

(36) The tablet was written in the gate.

(37-43) Seals of the above and of Akiptilla.

This document adds nothing to our knowledge of security transactions. It mentions, however, another son of the King (5) and it introduces a new Hurrian technical term, viz., *amumi(ḫ)ḫuru* (27). This word (here with the Akkadian genitive ending) may mean simply "representative." However, a special reference to some position in connection with farm work is more probable in view of Hurrian *be-ni-ḫu-rù* (N 49.36) which is the equivalent of Akkadian *mušelwū* "surveyor." Cf. Koshaker, NKRA 67 note 2, who reads the word *beniḫuaš* (with the Hurrian subject suffix); but the last sign of *a-mu-mi-iḫ-ḫu-ri* establishes the second element common to both words as *-ḫuru*,

which may designate agricultural occupations. For *amumi*, cf. the personal name *Amumi-Tešup*, N 533.7; H II 103.38, et al.

18. For *uriḫul* etc. see 27.10 ff.

63

Document of *ditennūtu* of Shukriya son of Ri[musharri]; Arteshshe son of Hanaya himself into *ditennūtu* (5) in place of one slave of three cubits from the land of the Lullu for twenty years into the house of Shukriya entered. When Arteshshe has completed twenty years in the house of Shukriya, (10) one slave of three cubits from the land of the Lullu, in good health, Arteshshe to Shukriya shall return and himself he shall free. If Arteshshe the work of Shukriya for a single day (15) leaves, one mina of copper as compensation Arteshshe to Shukriya shall pay as fine.

(18-33; 36) Nine witnesses, including Nanna-rēṣi the scribe. Seven seals.

(34-5) This tablet was written after the proclamation in front of the gate.

5. The principal value of this text is that it restricts the possibilities of interpreting *ammatu* in connection with slaves. As matters stand, even this negative contribution will be helpfull. Let us first list the passages in which this use of the term has been known thus far:

N 113.10-1: *1 zu-ḫa-ru ša 2 [i]-na [a]m-ma-ti [x]-a-[x]ú-ba-ni*

N 312.11-2: *1 zu-ḫa-ra ša 2 am-ma-ti ù ma-lu-ti 1 zu-ḫa-ar-tu₄ ša* KI.MIN-*ma*

N 317.10: *1 zu-ḫa-ru ša 2 am-ma-ti ù ma-lu-ti*

To this may be added two unpublished passages supplied by Dr. Lacheman:

SMN 2595.6-7: *1 wardu$^{du}_{4}$ ša 2-na am-ma-ti*

SMN 2617.8-10: *1 zu-ḫa-ru wardu$^{du}_{4}$ ša KURNu-ul-lu-a-e ša 2-na am-ma-ti ù ša ma-lu-ti*

In all these passages the slave in question is required to be of two *a.* and of *m.* If the former term is taken in its common value of "cubit," the question naturally arises as to how a servant who is so small could be of practical value (cf. note to 15.8). Or does *a.* represent here something else than a measure, in spite of the probable *ina* that precedes it in the unfortunately damaged N 113.10 (in which case the following *ú-ba-ni* would not be the word for "finger")? Yet "two" is confirmed by the phonetic complement of the SMN passages given above. As for *ma-lu-ti*, is it derived from *malū*, or do we have here some other word, perhaps the *maluṭṭu* discussed by Landsberger in ZA NF 8.166 (to which my attention has been called by Goetze)?

Now some of these uncertainties can be eliminated. The occurrences in the present text of *3* for the customary *2*, and the absolutely clear *ina* leave no room for doubt that *ammatu* is used here as a measure. Whatever its exact length, the possibility of varying the specifications by as much as one-third suggests that the slaves in question were obtained while quite young. With this accords the fact that in all but two of the passages the term *ṣuḫāru* "youth" has been employed.

That *ma-lu-ti* is not descriptive of *ammatu* would follow from the preceding *ša* in SMN 2617.10. Some indication of fitness is consequently to be expected.

64

The tongue of Ariggirhe son of Kushshiya from [..]rishpa before these witnesses spoke as follows: "Five *imēr* of barley (5) from Unaptae son of Taya I(!) received and one *imēr* of *kaška*-land of Unaptae, from the district of Alta, into *ditennūtu* to Unaptae I have given. (10) When I have returned to Unaptae the five *imēr* of barley, then that land I shall get back. If the *kaška*-land is released (in the meantime) to its owner, in that case those five *imēr* of barley I (15) to Unaptae shall return.

(16) Seal of Ariggirhe.

(17-8) This tablet was written in the gate of ᶜAnzugallu.

(19-29) Seals of nine witnesses, including Hashiptilla the scribe.

This document furnishes some new material on the question of *kaška* which I discussed in JAOS 52.362 ff. It cannot be said, however, that the problem as a whole receives much illumination from the present text. To be sure, we see once more that the *kaška* is something that may be disposed of by one party while the land is owned by someone else; for the deponent assigns the *kaška* as security, though the land may be released by him to its owner. But, unless line 7 is a scribal oversight, the land belongs to the same (*-ma*) Unaptae who now receives it as security. I would suggest tentatively this explanation: U. owns the land while A. has the *kaška*-rights to it; these rights are now ceded to U. for the duration of the loan which he has granted to A. If the *kaška* is in the meantime restored to A., for reasons that are not specified, then the loan will be repaid simultaneously. But perhaps this is no explanation at all.

65

Document of *ditennūtu* of Sharteya son of Hanatu. Five *aweḫaru* of land in the fields of ᶜNuzi, below the land of the palace, (5) north of the land of Giliya, above the ᶜAtaggal Road, and south of the land of Kulahupi; another strip of one(?) *kumanu* of land above the road of the Pui district and to the north of the land (10) of Meshmani, altogether five *aweḫaru* (and) one(?) *kumanu* of land, the share of Arteya, as *ditennūtu* for six years to Kulahupi son of Shukriya he has given. And Kulahupi one ox of four (years), sound, to Sharteya has given. When (15) the six years of the land have expired, one sound ox of four (years) Sharteya will return to Kulahupi and his land he shall take back. If the land is large, he shall not curtail it, if the land is (20) small, he shall not enlarge it; if the land has a claimant, Sharteya shall clear it and to Kulahupi he shall deliver (it). If the land has been plowed over, it shall not be [taken]. (25) Whoever violates the contract in the course of the six years, shall furnish one sound ox of four years. The document was written in ᶜNuzi after the proclamation.

(29-37) Seven witnesses and signature of Abi-ilu, the scribe.

(38) The above are the witnesses who supervised the payment of the ox.

(38-46) Seals of the same and of Sharteya.

(47-50) The year of the writing of the document (was) when the *ašuḫu* ("fir")-wood was returned from the land of Hanigalbat; and (then) it was written.

This document adds nothing to our knowledge of *ditennūtu* transactions. Its chief interest lies in its quaint and novel date formula. Just what the "return" of *ašuḫu* wood from Hanigalbat may signify is not easy to guess. Do we have here a record of an indemnity paid by Mitanni after Arrapḫa, which had previously been conquered and presumably sacked, had been made a province of the Mitanni Empire? The letter of Saushshatar (H II 1; cf. JAOS 49.269 ff.) already presupposes such a relationship. But the present scribe is a son of the well-known Nabū-ilu, so that the year in question would scarcely antedate the generation of Ennamati. Needless to add, this year is not celebrated in the Assyrian annals.

8. The use of *kumanu* in this line and in line 10 seems to prove conclusively that this land measure is not to be identified with *aweḫaru*, as is assumed by Koschaker, NKRA 25. The first strip of land comprises five *aweḫaru*, the second a *kumanu*; the total reads five *aweḫaru, mala kumanu*. Thus, whatever may be the precise value of *kumanu* and the exact force of *mala* (= "one"?), the two land measures in question are not to be confused with each other.

10. *qassum* is a curious nominative incorporating the possessive suffix of the third person "a his share." For a similar hybrid cf. *mimmu-šunšu-ya*, H I 72.29. The employment of such forms in the jargon of Nuzi was facilitated, no doubt, by the stereotyped nature of the phrases in which they generally occurred.

23. For *mayaru* as an actual cause for dispute, cf. JAOS 55.429 ff. (text No. 2).

35 and 40. The writings *Niḫer-tilla* and *Nirḫi-tilla* for the same person and in the same tablet reflect one of the outstanding phonetic peculiarities of the Nuzi dialect: metathesis of the sonorous sounds, particularly when compared with other dialects with a similar Hurrian substratum; cf. e. g., Nuzi *irwi* and Western *iwri*; within the Nuzi dialect we have *eḫli-p* and *elḫi-p*, and the like. Metathesis of an entire syllable, but following an *r*, is seen in Nuzi *k/gurpizu* (also in Urartean? cf. Thureau-Dangin, Sargon 378, and ff.) as against Amarna *gurz/sipu*, Knudtzon, Index.

66

Document of *ditennūtu* of land; eight *aweḫaru* of land to the north of the land of ^{f}Aruna and above the land of ^{f}Aruna, (5) south of the land of Giwarari, (and) below the land of Urhiteshup, in the field of ^{c}Unapshewa, into *ditennūtu* for five years Puitae son of Eteya (10) to Nushapu son of Purnazini gave. And Nushapu five *imēr* of barley, one *imēr* of wheat, three minas of lead, two male spring lambs with their wool, one female lamb of nine (months) with its wool, (15) these into *ditennūtu* for that land Nushapu to Puitae has given. When the five years according to the wording of this tablet have expired, (20) five *imēr* of barley, one *imēr* of wheat, three minas of lead,

two male spring lambs with (their) wool, and one female lamb with (its) wool Puitae to (25) Nushapu shall return and his land he shall take back. If the land has a claim (against it) Puitae shall clear (it) and restore to Nushapu. (30) These sheep with their wool in the month of Kispatu of *iškiški* Puitae received and in the same month he shall return (them).

(34-46) Five witnesses and signature of Tarmitilla the scribe. Seals of the above and of Puitae owner of the land.

(47-9) This tablet was written after the proclamation in the gate of ᶜUnapshe.

10. The name Nushapu appears in the next text as Mushapu, although the same person is referred to throughout; moreover, the scribe is also the same in both instances. To be sure, the present text antedates the next one (cf. ibid. 11 ff.), so that the change may be the result of some special development in this particular case. It is interesting to note that Akkadian *mūšabu* "seat" appears in Nuzi with *n*; cf. *nu-ša-bi-šu*, TCL 9.1, 5, and see M. Berkooz, OPNA, under "Nasals."

31. The "Month of *Kispātu*" is evidently "The time of the funeral offerings." For a special day set aside for such offerings in the Babylonian rituals, cf. Langdon, Babylonian Menologies 148. The month in question would correspond to Ab (ibid. 20-3). The native proper name answering this general description may be the *warabŠeḫali ša Nergal*, Gadd 80.8. That deliveries of wool and its products were indeed made in the month of Sheh(a)li may be seen from N 314.15. As for *iškiški*, the reading *mil-ki-mil-ki* is also possible, but no adequate interpretation suggests itself.

67

The tongue of Mannu-mahirshu son of Naisheri before these witnesses spoke as follows: "Two *imēr* of land in the field of (5) ᶜUnapshewa, to the north and below the boundary of the Irripiya district, to the south of the land of Apenari, (and) above the road of ᶜApenash," (10) thus further Mannu-mahirshu, "That land formerly Ennapali, the brother of Mushapu son of Purnazini, in exchange for forty minas of copper and (15) in exchange for five *imēr* of barley into *ditennūtu* to Hamanna son of Shurkituri my grandfather gave. And now one sound ox four years old in place of the (20) forty minas of copper and in place of the five *imēr* of barley from Mushapu I have received and have been paid in full. That land to Mushapu I have released." If (25) Mannu-mahirshu on account of that land against Mushapu raises complaints, one mina of silver (and) one mina of gold to Mashapu he shall pay as fine. The tablet after the proclamation (10) in the gate of ᶜUnapshewa was written.

(32-48) Nine witnesses, including Tarmitilla the scribe. Eight seals.

17. Note the interesting compound *abābi* "grandfather."

19. For Hurrian *tumn-arpu* "four-year-old," see Appendix A.

68

Thus Katiri son of Shennaya: "Taya son of Arteya for the payment of (a fine of) sheep (5) the judges committed (to me). Now, on this day, these sheep as a charge against Taya I have removed."

(9-14) Six seals, including that of Urhiteshup, the scribe.

69

The tongue of Tani brother of Wahrisheni in the presence of judges spoke: (5) "Formerly one *imēr* of land Wahrisheni to Ennamati son of Tehiptilla gave and since seven years ago (10) that land he(!) has kept. Wahrisheni was the giver of the land, Ennamati should return it." And (15) the suit of Tani is to be decided. Memorandum document.

(19-22) Four seals.

Unless we take *aklāšū* as yet another example of the common Nuzi substitution of first for third person (see Appendix B), the text will make little sense. Otherwise there would be no lawsuit to decide. Note also the present form (with imperat. force) of *uppala*.

18. For *ḫuzzuzi* instead of the usual *taḫsilti* cf. H I 35.9, where the final *ri* is an obvious error for *zi* (I so corrected it in my copy on my first reading of that text). [Cf. also H III 197.13 *ḫu-zu-zi-iš*, which, as Meek's mimeographed sheet of corrections points out, is not a personal name but an infinitive with the ending *-iš*. The occurrence of this form in an old Akkadian tablet from Nuzi, about a thousand years older than our text, is an interesting indication of its persistence.]

70

Shatutae son of Nulteshup with Wurteshup son of Urhiteshup in a lawsuit before the judges appeared and thus (declared) Shatutae: (5) "Wurteshup came to me and thus he (spoke), 'Verily, Ipshahalu (instructed me) as follows: Bring to me your (i. e., Shatutae's) chariot that I may go to the City of the Gods.' And he took the chariot and these three months he has kept it. And now (10) I demand my chariot. He will not give it (to me)." And the judges inquired of Wurteshup. Thus Wurteshup: "Yes, Ipshahalu dispatched me and the chariot from Shatutae (15) I(!) took." And the judges (further) questioned Wurteshup: "The chariot that you took, where is it?" Thus Wurteshup: "The chariot is in ᶜAnzugallu." In accordance with the declaration of Wurteshup (20) Shatutae prevailed in the lawsuit and the judges to Wurteshup spoke: "Go and a chariot just like the one which you took from Shatutae (25) a chariot exactly like it, to Shatutae return."

(28-34) Seals of three judges and signature of Akiya, the scribe.

6. Here *lū* serves to introduce the speech of a third party and, incidentally, to lend it emphasis.

15. *ilteqī* is surely another instance of the use of the third person instead of the first, just as *īriš* in line 10 is an example of the converse type of substitution; cf. Appendix B.

16. Here *ānina* is a variant of *aynu*, etc. "where?"

23 ff. The translation is somewhat forced in an effort to follow the text. The decision must have been to the effect that inasmuch as Shatutae's own chariot was out of reach, and probably also in poor condition from long and unauthorized use, a new chariot of the same type was to be returned to the plaintiff. For *kīmē-kinanna* cf. H I 6.16 ff.

30 ff. The identification "judge" on each of the three seals confirms a long-held view that the names appended in lawsuits were those of the judges.

71

Eatupki before Kartutti made an appeal. Thus he (declared): "Apukka has been wronging me; by force (5) in his house he has caused me to be confined." And Kartutti delegated Ehliteshup; thus he (instructed him): "Take with you judges and attend to the lawsuit of Eatupki."

(10) Apukka with Eatupki in a lawsuit before the judges appeared. Thus (declared) Eatupki: "Apukka has wronged me." And the document concerning Apukka before the judges (15) he produced and they read in it the verdict to the effect that the judges, (namely) Akiptasheni, Sharriya, Shiyati, and Zini, these four judges Eatupki for fifty *imēr* of barley (20) and for one ox to Apukka had committed. Apukka (again) prevailed in the lawsuit: the judges Eatupki for one slave-girl (25) to Apukka (re)committed. Because Eatupki had his case tried a second time, therefore for one ox as judge'(s fee) to Akiptasheni, for one ox to Zini as judge, (30) for one ox to Shiyati as judge, (and) for one ox to Sharriya as judge, the judges committed Eatupki, because his suit he had repeated.

(34) Seals of six judges, and signature of Ennamati, the scribe.

This important record throws further light on certain aspects of legal procedure at Nuzi (appeal, fee to each of the previous judges who have not been overruled, six judges who hear the appeal).

1. Note that the introduction is unusual, lacking as it does the customary formula (which is delayed till line 10) but stating the case at once; cf. N 332 and Koschaker, OLZ 1936.1539.

2. Kartutti, to whom the case is appealed, is a *ḫazannu* (cf. No. 7.20), or perhaps *šakin māti* (cf. N 321.9). *hānu/hanānu* (cf. 7.20) is clearly the technical term denoting "appeal from a previous ruling."

4. The verb *ḫabālu* denotes judicial unfairness, cf. N 332.7, and Koschaker, loc. cit.

5. *ušēribanni* has the specialized connotation of "he caused me to enter as an *errebu*, or a *ditennu*." That E. had been committed to A. as surety pending the payment of a fine imposed by the judges is explained in line 25.

8. The last sign of *it-ti-ka* is not absolutely certain, being closer in shape to *iḫ*, but the context plainly requires *ka*.

15. *li'ūtu*, the abstract noun corresponding to (*ina dīni*) *iltē-ma*, signifies something like "a favorable decision in a lawsuit" cf. *tuppu ... ša ina dīni lē'u*, N 368.11-13.

27 and 33. *šina-tu(m)ma epēšu* "do a second time" is another one of the *-umma epēšu* clauses, so characteristic of these documents, with the Hurrian numeral *šina* "two." The related *šinamumma epēšu* "duplicate, replace" (H I 30.28, 32) was explained in FL 17n.36. The slight difference in meaning must be ascribed to the respective formatives *-tu* and *-mu*. For the former we may perhaps compare *šin-t-arpu* by the side of *šin-arpu* "two-year-old"; see Appendix A.

72

Unaya son of Hampizi with Akawatil son of Tarmiya in a lawsuit before the judges appeared. (5) Thus Unaya: "In the country Akawatil struck me." And the tongue of Akawatil before the judges spoke: "Yes, (10) we engaged in a fight one with the other." And because they directed their tongues and said, We fought together, the judges the injuries (15) of the two of them examined. And the head of Unaya at *x x* had been injured and [blood] had been let, and (20) *x* their injuries *x x*. In the lawsuit Unaya prevailed and the judges Akawatil in accordance (25) with his own admission for the payment of thirty shekels of silver, (i. e.?) for one ox, [one] ass, and ten sheep to Unaya assigned.

(29-35) Signature of Nabū-ilu the scribe. Six seals.

This text is a record of a lawsuit arising from assault. Again the tablet is damaged at what was clearly the most interesting part of the proceedings. On the whole, however, the case and the terminology recall H II 10.

6. For *ina* EDIN.NA (*ina ṣēri*), cf. H I 52.7. The expression corresponds to Middle Assyrian *ina kīdi* (for this phrase, cf. Driver-Miles, Assyrian Laws 459 f.), with which may be contrasted *libbi āli*; our *ina sūqi* (cf. note at 42.17), however, is not used as the opposite of *ina ṣēri*, having been specialized in a juristic sense. It is interesting to note that Heb. *baḥḥūṣ* "outside" may share the values of both *ina ṣēri* and *ina sūqi*. For the purposes of the present case, the question of whether *ina ṣēri* is of legal significance is an important one. We know that a burglary inside the house drew double the penalty of an outside theft (cf. Cross MPND, under "Cattle"). Unfortunately for the present discussion, the phraseology of lines 25-6 (see below) is ambiguous, so that direct evidence on this point is lacking. In other words, "in the country" may be purely a descriptive phrase, or else a point bearing on the ultimate verdict.

13. The statement, *nintaḫḫaṣ* "WE fought," made by the defendant is an admission of complicity if not of guilt.

16. for *imtanū*, cf. 56.17.

20-1. The damaged condition of this passage spares us some of the lurid details, but excites our linguistic curiosity.

25 ff. Is the *mullū* of "thirty shekels" meant merely as the equivalent of or as an addition to the "one ox, one ass, and ten sheep"? Dr. Cross (loc. cit.) has shown that the two items were legally convertible. If line 26 is only a gloss to line 25, the present penalty would correspond to that for burglary, or assault (cf. H I 43) in the open;

this indeed seems to be the case. On the other hand, if the two items are to be taken concurrently, the penalty would be a double one. In either instance, however, the conclusion of Dr. Cross as regards the equivalence of the two amounts, is brilliantly borne out by this passage.

28. *ittadin* is evidently an instance of confusion of *nadānu* with *nadū*.

29 ff. Note the presence of six judges as in No. 71.

73

Wantiya son of Ehlipapu against Nirhitilla son of < ? > in a lawsuit before judges appeared. Thus Wantiya: (5) "To Nirhitilla I am not in debt; and (yet) for a claim he committed me, and for two days as a result of (that) claim I was committed." And the judges questioned Nirhitilla. And thus Nirhitilla: (10) "Wantiya my debtor went bail and into custody I committed him." The judges requested witnesses of Nirhitilla. Thus Nirhitilla: (15) "Shatenshuh is my witness and there are no other witnesses." The judges questioned Shatenshuh, and thus Shatenshuh: "No indeed! I am not a witness. Their matters (20) I do not know." The judges spoke to Nirhitilla: "Go and (concerning) Wantiya take the oath of the gods against him." Shekaru son of Kushuya, Taika (25) son of Apushki, and Giraya son of Zilipnitilla, these three men the judges as deputies to the gods delegated. From the gods Nirhitilla shrank. In the lawsuit Wantiya prevailed (30) and the judges committed Nirhitilla for his having cast claims to Wantiya for one ox.

(34-7) Signature of Urhite the scribe, and three seals.

6. Here and in lines 7 and 31 the noun is evidently *seḫū*, rather than some synonym of *uṣurtu* (line 12).

74

Thus fShuhurnaya: "(May I perish) if fifteen *imēr* of barley, nine *imēr* of wheat, eight *sātu* [of peas], six pigs, one *tallu* of oil, (5) thirty sheep, if these, the property of Kipiya, my husband, Naniya and Kulahupi did not appropriate and (then) deny it!"

(10) Thus Naniya, and thus [Kulahupi]: "(May we perish) if fifteen *imēr* of barley, nine *imēr* of wheat, eight *sātu* of peas, (15) six [pigs], one *tallu* of oil, thirty sheep, if [these] (goods) belonging to Kipiya, the [..], concerning which Shu(hu)urnaya has spoken we took and (20) now deny it."

Concerning these words (25) they shall go to the river ordeal. Whoever withholds himself shall be put to death. A matter of burglary.

(23, 28-30) Four seals.

This is another instance where the implications of the *šumma*-oath are taken literally by the judges: the ordeal will bring death to one of the parties.

4. According to unpublished texts the *tallu*-pot (RI) contained either eight or ten *qā* precisely as the dry measure *sūtu*.

75

Thus fKuritu: "(May I perish) if Tultu did not slander me and if she did not speak thus, (5) 'You are the handmaid of Ithapu!' And if I did not say, 'Why am I the handmaid of Ithapu? I am the handmaid of the King!' And if fTultu did not say, (10) '[...] feudal tenant(?) the King to Ithapu has(!) given.'"

Thus fTultu: "Yes, I did defame fKuritu (15) and I certainly did speak to fKuritu thus, 'You are the handmaid of Ithapu! And indeed (20) fKuritu said, 'Why am I the handmaid of Ithapu? Am I not the handmaid of the King?' And I said indeed, 'Yes indeed! (25) We know this and that.' And I certainly did say, '[...] feudal tenant(?) the king [.....]'"

Concerning these words (30) they shall go to the river ordeal. She who withholds herself(?) shall be put to death.

(32-36) Three seals and signature of Annishu the scribe.

This document is unusual in several respects. Unlike other *šumma*-declarations, the accused does not deny the allegations, but appears rather to take a savage delight in reaffirming them. So serious is the matter that the loser in the river ordeal will pay with her life.

Unfortunately, quarrels of this type, recorded as they are in direct discourse, can make little sense to detached readers of a later generation, who are, moreover, unable to follow any of the allusions that must have been plain to the local contemporaries. Nor is the text in good condition, though this situation may not have been accidental. Two lines (8 and 28) were erased by the scribe, and it is very significant that both had contained statements involving the King. Do we have here the result of some kind of censorship?

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that the above translation does not give consistently the same English value to a given Akkadian word (cf., e. g., the forms of *nazālu* in lines 3 and 14) or phrase. For although the statements of the two bitter enemies confirm each other, they were made clearly with varying degrees of emphasis.

3, 14. *nazālu* (with *e* in the prefix forms) with *itti* has the value of "complain about," the preposition introducing the thing or person in question. In the present text something that is at once stronger and more flexible is required. The underlying idea is that of defamation.

7 f. It is plain from the context that the servant of the King would not be confused with that of any other dignitary. Unless the present dispute is not at all representative, involving more than is immediately apparent, false statements in such cases were regarded as offenses that were punishable at times by death.

10 f. Do these two verses mean that the King gave Kuritu to Ithapu to perform feudal tasks? If so, the verb is in the wrong person, which would, of course, be nothing unusual in Nuzi.

25. A freer translation would be: "We know a thing or two!"

30. We expect *ig-gal-lu/ma* (cf. 74.25). The precise sense and, for that matter, even the derivation of this verb are still open to question. All that is certain is that the state or action thus indicated signified loss of the trial by ordeal. The tentative translation given above is that adopted by Driver-Miles, Assyrian Laws 87.

31. Inasmuch as Kuritu's charge is not denied by Tultu, one wonders at the necessity of a trial by ordeal and at the severity of the ultimate punishment. Does the indirect insult to the crown play any part in the affair? [Or is the truth of Tultu's allegation the real point at issue?]

76

Unto Shehramushni say: "Thus Tatipteshup, 'The domestics of (5) Shehalteshup went forth to glean barley in the Merchants' district, but they stole (other grain).' (10) Now all the thieves among them let Shehalteshup name. Do you seize them (5) and produce them before the King."

The sense of this terse message is plainly that servants, who had come ostensibly to glean, appropriated grain to which they were not entitled. The fact that gleaning was permitted gives us yet another close parallel between the Nuzi texts and the Bible.

8. For this rare form cf. 8.7.

77

One woman of the palace for five talents of copper Ili-ittiya, the merchant, took. And on (5) the arrival of his caravan, for the five talents of copper (the equivalent) in cedar, cypress, tamarisk, (10) (and) myrtle wood, in *x* and *x*, in blue and red purple wool, (15) and in rouge extracted from worms Ili-ittiya shall produce and in the palace to Taya deliver.

(20) Seal of Ili-ittiya, the merchant.

The bearing of this text on the etymology of the name "Phoenician" was discussed in *Language*. 12, 121 ff. The published occurrences of *kinaḫḫu* will be found listed in Cross, MPND, under "Wool and Clothing." Dr. Lacheman kindly supplies the following two additional passages:

SMN 751: *4* MA.NA *ki-na-aḫ-ḫé a-na 2* KUŠMEŠ *ša bi-ir-mu 2* MA.NA *ta-ki-il-tù a-na 2 ta-pa-lu-tu*$_4$*MEŠ mar-ta-du 1* MA.NA *ta-ki-il-tù ta-bar-ru ù šu-ra-at-ḫa*

SMN 1150: *1* MA.NA *ta-ki-il-tù ki-na-aḫ-ḫu ù šu-ra-at-ḫa 46* SU *ta-ki-il-tù ta-bar-ru ù šu-ra-at-ḫa 5* SU *ù 40 ḫé-it-nu ta-ki-il-tù ta-bar-ru ù šu-ra-at-ḫa*

It is obvious that *kinaḫḫu*, *tabarru*, *šuraṯḫa/u* (since *šuraṯḫu* is found with the determinative GIŠ—cf. e. g., Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon* 206—this term must designate, among others, a vegetable dye), and *kinaḫḫu* all refer to dyes. Of these, *takiltu* (cf. also Knudtzon, *Amarna* 25. III 75, and Index) is evidently equivalent to the above *uqnu* (wr. ZA.GINMEŠ) with the sense of "blue purple." *kinaḫḫu* is proved to be a subshade of *tabarru* by SMN 2598, 6-7 (*ta-bar-ru-šu ki-na-aḫ-ḫu*), a passage supplied by

Dr. Lacheman. It follows then that *kinaḫḫu* denotes a special variety of "red purple." The connection of this term with the geographical name *mātKinaḫḫi, Kinaḫni/a* "Canaan," is supported by the internal evidence of the present text. The merchant is to pay the purchase price of the slave girl upon the return of his caravan. The first item among the goods specified as payment is "cedar wood," whose source of supply was in Syria. The technical term for this particular variety of "red purple" was thus based on the native name for "Phoenicia." Conversely, the Greeks designated the Phoenicians and Phoenicia after their own name for "red purple," viz., *phoînix*.

11-2. The two special terms are obscure as to meaning. Does *metru* have anything to do with *watāru*, in which case the phrase would mean something like "more or less of the one or the other item"? Or does the first word correspond to the vegetable *miṭ/tru*; cf. the references in Meissner, Studien zur assyrischer Lexikographie II 16 (line 135)?

15. For *ḫuruḫurati* cf. Meissner, BAW I 46 ff.

78

Four cloths and ten sets of pullovers of secondary quality, belonging to the palace, Arraphari (5) son of Ishtiri, the merchant, for traffic received. And as the price for them (line 8-10 damaged and uncertain) (11) of the houses of the palace in ᶜNuzi he shall return.

(14) Seal of Arraphari, the merchant.

1-2. For TÚG "cloth," or the like, rather than "garment" and for GÚ.È = *naḫlaptu*, which ideographically represents something like a "pullover" and according to its Akkadian equivalent a "cloak," cf. Cross, MPND, under "Wool and Clothing." On *šinaḫilu* see Appendix A.

4. Is the name Arraphari primarily a trade name? The "Arraphan" would be quite suitable for a travelling merchant.

79

The tongue of Hashiptilla son of Kipuya before these witnesses spoke: "One cloth of good quality (5) for sale, for traffic, from Wur[teshup] I have received; and(!) two shekels of pure silver (10) from (the proceeds of) the caravan in the month of Ḫu-RI.ŠI.. to Wurteshup I shall give. And when [Hashiptilla] the two shekels of silver (10) has brought to the house of Wurteshup, then Wurteshup one male sheep twice plucked (20) to Hashiptilla son [of Kipuya shall return]. (Rest of reverse destroyed.)

(22-4) Four seals.

5. DAM.GAR/QAR-*ši* is interesting morphologically as well as semantically. According to the context, the word is synonymous with *tamkarrūtu* (cf. e.g., H II 2.5), which in turn has much the same value as *tadmiqtum* in the Code of Hammurabi Ir 17 (cf. Der Alte Orient 31.3/4 note 4), viz., "profit, speculation," hence "traffic" in general. But what is the origin of the final *-ši*? In SMN 2359 capital is given out

ana ṣiptiti ù DAM.QAR-*ši*MEŠ (line 4), while further on in the same text (lines 9-10) we hear of *qaqqadudu ṣiptiti-šu ù qaqqad(u)* DAM.QAR-*ši*MEŠ. Now the plural sign presents no problem, inasmuch as it is often employed inorganically in the Nuzi texts (cf. now Berkooz, OPNA, under "Plural"); at best, it may indicate the presence of a long vowel (or consonant), not necessarily final, which would then point to the reading (or at least the value) *tamkarrūtu* (cf. 74.6), but scarcely to the length of *-ši*, which could have been expressed more simply through **ši-i*. (An analysis of the occurrences of the inorganic MEŠ, as listed in Berkooz, loc. cit., will show that the sign is used to indicate not only final and medial length—e. g., *imtūt*MEŠ, N 337.8; *išaqqal*MEŠ, N 284. 22; *bīt*MEŠ *it*, H I 40.7—but also feminines, collectives—e. g., *da-ma*MEŠ, H II 10.9—and the like). Since *-ši* is hardly part of the original ideogram (as indicated by the transliteration), some other explanation of its use is needed. I take it as the Hurrian abstract formative, calling attention for the present to *irwiššiš*, N 89.10; cf. also the acc. form in N 28.24, 33.19 (see Koschaker, NKRA 15, and for the form, cf. FL 14 note 28), and *nira/iššiš/e* (Koschaker, ibid. 14). The MEŠ of SMN 2359 would hark back, then, to the length of the first vowel in the Akkadian abstract ending *-ūtu*. Perhaps the strongest support for the view that Hurrian *-ši* (originally exponent of the action noun? cf. FL loc. cit.) signified abstracts is the fact that even the Akkadian synonym of *irwiššiš*, viz., *ilku*, is supplied with the plural sign in *il-ka*$_4$, N 13.19. To be sure, the above argument has followed a criss-cross path; but the satisfactory check of its bearings at each stage lends assurance that the goal reached is the correct one.

10. The reading of the month-name *Ḫu*-RI-ŠI occasions considerable difficulties. On the basis of N 116.4 (*Ḫu-ri-še-e*) one is naturally inclined to read *Ḫu-ri-ši* in all the passages where the final syllable is expressed as ŠI. But unpublished texts complicate the issue. SMN 557.21 has plainly *ina* ITU*Ḫu-ta-al-lim*; on the other hand, we have *ina* ITU(*bi*)*Ḫu-ri-še* in 95.8 and in SMN 964.19, et al. Apparently, we have to distinguish carefully between the two, and where the writing is ambiguous, the transliteration must resort to capitals.

80

One mina thirty-two shekels of copper out of the copper for the sickles of the palace which Kulahupi to (5) Paitilla had given, now then that one mina thirty-two shekels of copper for the door of [..] which is in the town of [..] (10) in charge of Paitilla has been given.

Seal of Paitilla.

2. For *ni-gal-la* cf. H II 40.3.

81

Ten talents seven minas thirty shekels of *ḫ*.-copper Heltipteshup (5) and Karmisha from the storage house of Nuzi have withdrawn.

3. The precise meaning of the term *erū ḫamuzu* remains to be determined. In the Nuzi texts copper may also be described as *mesū*, "washed, purified," or better still, *mezū* 'mixed'; cf. D. Cross, MPND.

8. *našāru* occurs frequently in these texts in the sense of "taking off a given share," as tax payment, etc.

82

Twenty shekels of *šešimtena* from the storage house were removed (50) (and) given to Akkulenni.

(7) Seal of Akkulenni.

1. The small quantity of the material removed from the storage house favors the interpretation that *š.* represents some kind of metal. N 294.10 mentions *1 SU še-ḫé/i-it-ni-ma* GUŠKIN. The two new terms are by no means identical, even though they have the same initial syllables; if the second sign of the present term were a scribal error for the not too dissimilar *ḫi*, there would still be some doubt whether **šeḫimtena* and *šehitnima* could be equated. In these circumstances it will be best to regard the two terms as unrelated, but referring to similar substances.

In this connection attention may be called to *1* MA.NATA.A.AN *še-iš-ši*-mur, cf. Ebeling-Meissner-Weidner, Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige p. 52 line 18, and see Ebeling's note, ibid. n. 16.

83

One chariot as the contribution of ᶜNuzi to the Resident (5) of the land of Hanigalbat on the feast of Ginuni of the City of the Gods was given.

(10) Seal of Shurkitilla son of Akiptashenni.

4. For LÚ*u-pa-ru-ú-ti* SMN 3392.16 has plain (*a-na*) *ú-pa-ri*, also from the land of Hanigalbat. The abstract form must, then, designate an office. That the office was an important one is clear not only from the present pasasge, but also from SMN 589 (communicated by Dr. Lacheman) where the official receives thirty golden cups. Meissner has demonstrated (Mit. d. altor. Ges. III 3.45) that *ubāru* has the value of "sojourner." In the Amarna letters (Knudtzon 20.73) the term seems to have the general meaning of "subject." Here, however, some dignitary is clearly indicated. Our translation "Resident" is based on the assumption that the official in question was the representative (something like Governor General, or Ambassador) from the ruling country. This would be a specialized value of "sojourner"; the latter significance is apparent in 7.50.

84

One chariot from Akipapu son of Hashipapu was received and (5) to Arrumti son of < ? > it was delivered. And Arrumti took it to the land of Ashur.

(10) Seal of Hashiptilla son of Hutiya.

8. Free communication with Ashur presupposes settled conditions under the rule of Mitanni kings.

85

One hundred and fifty leg-pieces of *šakkullu* Nihriya son of the King delivered. (5) Ninety leg-pieces for ten offering tables have been given, nine leg-pieces (for each?). Tehiptilla.

The laconic style of this record renders the details ambiguous. Is Tehiptilla the signer of this receipt? If so, line 8 must be taken with the preceding three as a gloss explaining the setting aside of ninety leg pieces for ten tables. Even then the ratio of nine to one remains puzzling. The principal interest of this text lies, however, in the light which it throws upon ceremonial furniture.

2. GIŠ*šēpītu* is plainly "leg," specifically, it would seem, unfinished and unattached. For the normal *šēpu* cf. the passage cited below, to line 6.

3. For *šakkullu* see Goetze, Neue Bruchstücke zum grossen Text des Hattušiliš 60.

3. The feminine ending endows *p/baššurītu* with a specialized meaning percisely as in the case of *šēpītu;* "offering table" is a plausible interpretation. From his files of unpublished Nuzi material Dr. Lacheman contributes the following citations from SMN 859:

10. *10 iṣba-aš-šu-ri-tum ša ši-in-ni* "Ten *p.* of ivory."
12. *20 iṣba-aš-šu-ri-tum ša še-pi-šu-nu ša alpi* "Twenty *p.* whose legs (have the shape) of bull(s)."
14. *10 iṣba-aš-šu-ri-tum tar-zu-ú-tum ša kib-ra la i-šu-ú* "Ten *p. tarzutu* which have no corners."

The ceremonial character of the *p.* is indicated both by the material (ivory) and by the elaborate workmanship (bull-shaped legs) of these tables. Is *qepra lā išū* merely a circumlocution for "round," or does the phrase emphasize this feature as something of particular significance for the purpose?

86

Three *zillutu*-oxen, twenty-nine cows, bearing, eight oxen three years old, six cows three years old, (5) seven male calves one year old, five female calves one year old, a total of fifty-eight head of cattle, which Shilwateshup to the hand of Belahishu (10) (and) to the hand of Taika delivered.

Four she-asses, bearing, one he-ass three years old, two young (asses), female, two years of age, one ass, male, two years old.

(15) A total of eight asses delivered to the hand of Wirrishtanni.

(17) Seals of the two recipients.

This document adds some technical terms used with domestic animals. For the subject of animals in Nuzi cf. Cross, MPND, ad loc.

1. *zilluti* probably some breed or special quality, less likely age, since we would expect in that case a compound with *-arpu*; cf. Appendix A.

13. *ṣuḫḫeru* proves to be a technical term for two-year-old she-asses.

87

Five *imēr* of barley as seed for five *imēr* of land belonging to fUzna, to Kipali (5) have been given. And the lands of fUzna are for partnership, and Kipali shall not dispose (of them).

(10) Seal of Kipali.

This text is not sufficient evidence on which to base conclusions with regard to the

Nuzi laws of partnership. Moreover, lines 7-9 are ambiguous, although the form of the verb favors the present translation.

1-2. The direct statement that an *imēr* of land required normally an *imēr* of seed is highly welcome. That the two measures are interdependent was to be expected a priori. This passage supports the view that an *imēr* of land was, at least in theory, of a size that could be sown with a donkey-load of barley.

88

Two imer of field, sown, Naniptilla son of Mushli received; the sown field is the property of Heltiptilla.

One imer of sown field belonging to Heltiptilla Wantishshe son of Shilwaya (received).

(5) One imer of sown field Pinpunna son of Urhiya received. The seed belongs to Heltiptilla and the field to Pinpunna. Now (that) field they (i. e., both) shall till, (10) harvest, and thresh (its grain); the barley and the straw (Pinpunna) together with Heltiptilla evenly (15) shall divide.

(16-9) Seals of Naniptilla, Wantishshe, and Pinpunna, and signature of Shimanni.

11. The form *i-ta-aš-šu-nu* (with the plural suffix referring either to the barley in a collective sense, or else to the plurality of the subjects, as is not uncommon in these documents; cf. Appendix B) is in all probability the present of *dāšu* "thresh." The verb would thus correspond approximately to *ina magratti inandin*, CT II 21.12. The alternative of taking the verb as a defective *t*-present of *našū* (the CT passage just quoted contains *inašši* immediately before *ina magratti inandin*) in some such sense as "gather in" is not favored by what follows, where grain and straw (note the determinative ŠE) are mentioned separately.

16 ff. It is worthy of notice that among the seals of the contracting parties that of Heltiptilla is not represented.

The even division of the yield on the part of the owners of the field and the seed-corn respectively, the labor having been shared by both, is significant.

89

Twelve *imēr* $1 + 2$ measures of sesame-oil, not purified. Seven *imēr* of sesame oil, purified. According to the measure (*sūtu*) of eight *qā*.

It follows from this text that the same dual standard of measures which was current for grain was used also for oil. For the *sūtu* of ten *qā*, cf. H II 66.2, and for one of eight *qā*, see ibid. 4, 8, 10.

90

Ten thousand reeds *x* of the palace from ᶜNuzi, (5) from Tishammushni, in ᶜDūrubla to the hand of Tarmitilla (10) son of Tarmiteshup have been delivered.

(12) Seal of Tarmitilla.

1. The value of "ten thousand" for *nu-bi* is established, as Dr. Lacheman informs me, by an unpublished text.

2. *šu-ku-te* is entirely uncertain. If it refers to the palace, the word may indicate some form of payment or contribution. It seems more likely, however, that the term is descriptive of the reeds. Is there here any connection with *šeqū*?

7. For *Dūr-ubla*, cf. Meek, H III, Index.

91

Thus A[..] son of Nante[.]: "Nine *imēr* of barley [..] from the barley of Hashuar son of Shimi(?)kari (5) for storage in my house have been placed. (10) On whatever day Hashuar may request them, he shall take them."

(13) Two seals, including that of Adad-ilu-rēshtū, the scribe.

5. The principal interest in this short text is due to its use of *maškanu* in the sense of "deposit, storage," as is evident from what follows, and not in the otherwise attested sense of "threshing place," which has an entirely different origin; cf. Goetze in AJSL 52.154 ff.

92

Four sheep, male, full-grown, ten lambs, ten sheep, female, bearing, the quota (5) of Shekarzizzaya, which has been apportioned out of ninety-six sheep (and) fifty sheep.

(9-10) Seal of Shekarzizzaya.

4. The use of *mudda madādu* in connection with animals is a curious application of a phrase which must have originated with deliveries of grain, or the like.

It is not certain whether the present payment is merely a partial one, as seems apparent on the surface, or whether it signifies a reduction of an originally larger quota; but in the latter case we should presuppose a fine rather than a straight transaction.

93

Thus Hupita son of Halshenni: "Shurihil son of El[laya] to me for anything (5) is not in debt and against Shurihil I shall not raise claims." And Shurihil thus in turn (declares): "And Hupita to (10) me is not in debt and against Hupita I shall not raise claims." He who violates the declaration, one mina of silver and one mina of gold (15) shall pay as fine.

(16-29) Eight witnesses, including Sin-i(d)dina, the scribe; six seals.

This text is an interesting record of a mutual cancellation of debts by two parties [or of recognition that all debts between them have been adjusted and settled; cf. No. 94].

94

Thus Ziryazzana son of Paitilla, father of Zigi son of Taitilla: "Taitilla to me (5) for one *ḫullānu*-robe and for two *imēr* of barley has been in debt. Now we have reached an agreement: in place of the two *imēr* of barley and in place of the one *ḫullānu*-robe (10) 12 minas of lead from Zigi I have received and am paid in full." He who breaks the agreement shall pay a fine of one ox.

(14-19) Five seals, including that of Kinni, the gate-keeper; signature of Nirari, the scribe.

Zigi pays in terms of lead a debt incurred by his father.

10. The sign SAL after the ideogram for "lead" is wholly obscure.

13. D. Cross has shown in her MPND that the ox figuring in fines of this sort had a standard value of 10 shekels.

95

The tongue of Arshawa son of Apil-Amurri before witnesses spoke: "Sixty (shekels) of silver belonging to Ehelteshup son of Taya (5) as the price of one slave-girl I have received. And one slave-girl, of sound (health) and excellent (qualities), from the Lullu land, he has purchased (herewith)." At the end of the month of Hurishe Arshawa shall deliver (her) to Ehelteshup. (10) If on the specified day the slave-girl he has not delivered, one mina of copper for each (missed) day he shall pay as fine. Ipshahalu son of Gelshampa (15) is the guarantor of Arshawa.

(17-22) Six witnesses, including Tarmiya the scribe.

(23-4) The tablet was written after the proclamation.

(25-9) Five seals.

1. The element *Amurri*, which appears here in ideographic form, is written phonetically in the next text, the sequel to the present document.

3. Sixty shekels is a high price for a slave-girl, even though she fulfill the requirements specified in line 6.

6. Note the lack of agreement between *damqaqà* and *na-aš-qú*. It is such utter disregard of all rules of harmony that makes it permissible to transliterate a given ideogram in the correct case although the very next word, in apposition to the ideogram, may have been written out by the Nuzi scribes phonetically, but in the wrong case. The Nuzians paid no attention to such details, brought up as they were on Hurrian, but the transliterator cannot afford to follow suit.

7. Contrast KUR*Nu-ul-lu* with KUR*Nu-ul-lu-i* of the following text. I take the former to be "Lullu land," and the latter "the land of the Lullu." The initial *n* is all but invariable, owing perhaps in part to dissimilation.

12. The amount specified here represents the *uriḫul*, which becomes thus definitely established as "compensation," and not "upkeep," as we have been translating in the past.

96

The tongue of Arshawa son of Apil-Amurri in the presence of these witnesses spoke: "One slave-girl from the land of the Lullu to Ehliteshup son of Taya (5) I have owed. And now one slave-girl from the land of the Lullu to Ehliteshup I have given and my hem I have left. From this day the one (10) against the other shall not raise claims. If the slave-girl has a claimant, Arshawa, Kainnani, and Shakuya shall clear her(!) (15) to Ehliteshup they shall restore (her).

(16-28) Six witnesses. Six seals, including that of Nirari the scribe.

13. It is interesting that in addition to Arshawa two others are named as guarantors against possible future vindication, neither of whom, however, is the *māḫiṣ pūti* of the preceding text (line 14).

14. For the plural object suffix confused with the plurality of subjects, cf. Appendix B.

97

One *katinnu* of bronze of which the weight is one mina, and one mina of lead, belonging to the sons of Pulahali, (5) Shurukka son of Aripuriggi took on interest. And in the month of Shehali of the Weather God, together with the interest thereon the lead and bronze Shurukka (10) to the sons of Pulahali shall return.

(12-21) Six witnesses including Tarmitilla the scribe. Four seals.

1. *ka(t)tinnu* occurs also in Knudtzon 25 II 42, where it is a part of *gu-um-bi* and made of semi-precious stone. If *gumbu* = *quppu* "box," k. may represent decorative braces or bars. A "bar" of bronze would suit the present context very well.

98-100

The last three texts in this volume belong to the same category, one that is not represented in this particular form among the Nuzi documents published so far. They are inventories of horses. They specify the number of the animals, their sex, color, age, and occasionally the country of their origin; finally, the persons are mentioned in whose buildings the horses are stabled, or from whom they have been received.

The stereotyped nature of these texts renders complete translations unnecessary. In a way, this is a fortunate coincidence; for most of the adjectives employed are technical terms whose precise values are unknown. In these circumstances, a composite analysis of the material will constitute the most practical treatment of the subject.

To begin with the known details, No. 100 includes specifications as to age. This may vary from four to seven years. The entries are in Sumerian;

Akkadian and Hurrian terms, such as occur in other types of Nuzi business documents (cf. Appendix A), are not found in this group.

Sex is also indicated ideographically; SAL in No. 98 and NITA in Nos. 99-100.

For the indication of color three Akkadian adjectives are employed: *sāmu* "red, bay," 99. 5; 100. 9, 12, 17, 25, 29; *ṣalmu* "black, dark," 99. 15, 22; 100. 2, 18; and *peṣū* "white, light," 100. 5.

Two countries are cited as places of origin: Han/ligalbat, 99. 2, 25, and KUR*Mu-ur-ku-na-aš*, ibid. 4, 11. The latter land is in all probability identical with the KURḪAR-ki(?) of Adad-nirāri II (Broken Obelisk II 20), which lay between the river Habūr and the city of Carchemish, hence in the vicinity of Hanigalbat. Importation from some distance is implied also in 100. 31-3: "A total of twenty horses; these were received from the merchants for the palace."

The doubtful technical terms are listed below in alphabetic order:

amkamannu, 99. 10, 11, 16, 21; 100. 11, 23, 24, 28.
akkannu, 99. 1, 3.
b/pab/prunnu, 99. 2, 6, 24.
b/paritannu, 100. 1.
b/pinkarannu, 100. 4.
elae, 100. 8, 10.
timzu ina kutallišu puḫarrinnu, 100. 6.
zirannu ū meker, 99. 18.
zirramannu, 98. 1; 100. 5.

Obviously, all these terms need not refer to the same sort of specifications. Thus *puḫarrinnu* indicates something that concerns the animal's back (for a related description, cf. N 108. 6), while *mek/q/ger* contributes some detail in addition to *zirrannu*. Then, *akkannu* is found by the side of *babrunnu* (99. 3) and *sāmu* (ibid. 5). Since the latter term denotes color, *babrunnu* is likely to be another adjective for color, while *akkannu* may refer to age, sex, or breed.

The remaining terms appear together with indications of age (for which we should expect words ending in *-arpu*) and sex. In all likelihood, therefore, they are adjectives denoting color or shade.

A term of related formation seems to be *šeklinnu* used in H II 101. 19 in connection with she-goats.

Two Akkadian phrases are of some interest in this connection. One is *paqid* "stabled," 100. 3. The other is the puzzling *ina abnīMEŠ lā nadū*, 98-9-10. Does it mean that the horses had not been driven over rocky paths? Probably so; but we had best accomplish our own path without further speculation.

APPENDIX A

On Some Hurrian Numerals

It is a well-known fact that in the cuneiform scripts numerals are expressed ideographically in the vast majority of instances. In consequence, their phonetic values are not attested uniformly well even in Sumerian and Akkadian. In the case of some of the other languages that are represented through the medium of later phases of cuneiform writing, the pronunciation of numerals is virtually unknown to us. There are few Hittite numerals about which we can be certain in spite of the imposing mass of Hittite texts published thus far.[1] Up to the present Urartean has yielded only the values of two cardinal numerals, namely, those for "one" and "ten thousand."[2] In these circumstances little can be expected of Hurrian, what with the paucity of its inscriptional material and our extremely modest knowledge of the language. It is therefore with an agreeable surprise that we find in the Nuzi texts the values of three Hurrian numerals. One of these confirms older identifications made on the basis of other sources; another corrects an equation previously proposed; and lastly, the third value is entirely new. The evidence to be presented is indirect, but none the less wholely conclusive.

We begin with lists of passages in which the suspect words occur.

a. *1* ANŠU.SAL *ši-in-ta-ar-pu,* N 102.10.
   1 sīsū a-ta-nu ši-na-ar-pu, N 360.5-6.

b. *1* ANŠU.SAL *ki-qa-ar-pu,* N 292.13.
   1 ANŠU.SAL KAB *ki-ka-ar-pé,* N 297.19.
   1 GUD^{MEŠ} NITA *ki-*[*qa*]*-ar-pu,* SMN 2513.3-4.
   1 GUD^{ÁB} *ša ki-qa-ar-pu,* SMN 2554.1.

c. *1* GUD.NITA *damqu*^{qú} *du-um-na-ar-pu,* No. 67.19.
   1^{en} GUD.SAL *tu*$_4$*-um-na-ar-pu,* H II 109.12.
   1 GUD.NITA *damqa*^{qú} *za/4-na-ar-pu,* SMN 2479.11.
   [*1*] GUD.NITA *damqa*^{qú} *du-um-na-a*[*r-pu*], ibid. 14.

In all the above passages animals (asses, horses, cattle) are introduced that are described respectively as *šin*(*t*)*arpu, kikarpu,* and *tumnarpu.* The latter word is once written *za/4-na-ar-pu*; but the reading *tumna*^{na}*-ar-pu* is estab-

[1] Disregarding, of course, the non-Hittite numerals of the Kikkuli tablet. For the Hittite numeral for "one," cf. Goetze, Language 11.185 ff.

[2] See Friedrich, Einführung ins Urartäische 18.

lished in this case by the context. The tablet records an ordinary security contract according to which an ox is received (line 11), to be returned at a specified time (line 14). The animal is first described as *za/4-na-ar-pu*, later on as *du-um-na-ar-pu*, so that the equation 4^{na}-*arpu* = *tumnarpu* leaves no possible room for doubt.

The above equation leads automatically to the realization that we have in *tumnarpu* a compound containing some equivalent for the numeral "four." The text which supplies this information is as yet unpublished. But evidence of the same nature, though admittedly less compelling, is present in the published material. As a matter of fact, I had reached the conclusion that the compounds with *-arpu* are Hurrian terms containing numerals before I had an opportunity to examine the SMN document in question. The evidence is found in parallel passages which deal with the animals that have been listed above. Thus we have asses described as *šu-lu-ši-tù damqu*^{qú}, Gadd 47.15; *ḫu-mu-šu-ú*, N 311.1; MU(!) $3^{MEŠ}$, H I 66.26; in other words, their ages are frequently indicated by means of Akkadian terms, or ideographically. The same is true of cattle. Oxen or cows are noted as *ru-bu-ú*, No. 28, 8; *ḫu-mu-ša-a-ú*, H II 104.12; *ti-ša-a-ú*, ibid. 12; or else as MU *4*, TCL IX 46.9, and *ša 5* MU^{MEŠ}, Gadd 2.17. In short, when we have eliminated the common adjectives descriptive of quality and the terms applied exclusively to sheep and goats, indications of age are found to occur with animals more frequently than any other designations. Inasmuch as the compounds with *-arpu* are never used together with the Akkadian or Sumerian terms for age, it is apparent that those compounds are local substitutes for the latter and that they must belong to the linguistic substratum at Nuzi.

At this stage we are confronted with what is a curious reversal of the conditions described in the introductory paragraph of the present inquiry. For now we have three terms which can safely be identified as numerals; but their respective numerical values remain to be determined. One of these unknown quantities is eliminated thanks to the equations *tumn-* "four," which was established above. Nor does the value of *šin(t)-* present a serious problem, for the meaning "two" has been assigned to *šin-* on the basis of the Mitanni letter of Tushratta.[3] The same basic Hurrian document presents indeed also the word *tumni* (col. II 58), in which Bork has recently recognized a numeral. He would assign to it the value "three," by a highly speculative kind of reasoning.[4] But although this identification is definitely disproved by the direct

[3] Cf. already Messerschmidt, Mitanni-Studien (MVAG 1899.4) p. 66; see now Bork, OLZ 1932.90.

[4] Bork, ibid. I had overlooked this note and I am grateful to Dr. I. J. Gelb for having called it to my attention.

evidence of our SMN passage, the veteran student of the "Mitani" language will have at least the satisfaction of estimating correctly the general character of the word. There is, then, left only the numeral *kik-*. Theoretically, this might represent any of the remaining digits, with the possible exception of "one," since one-year-olds are often represented by special terms. In practice, however, the range need scarcely be as broad. We have seen that *kikarpu* is applied to asses and cattle. Now the asses whose ages are indicated in the Nuzi texts are twice said to be aged three years (MU $3^{MEŠ}$; *šu-lu-ši-tù*), and once five years (*ḫu-mu-šu-ú*), as has been noted above.[5] In all probability, therefore, *kik-* represents "three," but "five" or even a higher number cannot be excluded from consideration for the time being.

That *-arpu* stands for "year," "age," or the like goes without saying.[6] In view of the *tumni* of the Mitanni letter, the numerals (above "two"?) may perhaps be assumed to have ended originally in *-i*. In *šintarpu* (as contrasted with *šinarpu*) there is an element *-t-* to which no obvious formative significance can be assigned for the present.

In conclusion, it will be of interest to consider briefly such other occurrences of the above numerals as are found independently of *arpu*. We find that *šin-* occurs in several combinations. One of these, viz. *ši-nam-ti*, is known as far back as the Amarna letters (cf. Knudtzon 60. 25); it belongs apparently together with *šinamu*, of which SMN 2480. 21 offers a fresh example in *it-ti ši-na-mu-mi-šu-nu* "with their apprentices," or the like. The basic meaning is something like "substitute, representative." In a verbal phrase with the frequent Nuzian construction in *-umma epēšu* the word is found twice in H I 30 (lines 28-32): once with *kusītu* "cover," and the other time with *ḫubullu* "debt"; in the first instance the meaning is plainly "replace, duplicate," and in the other "double"; cf. already my note in FL 17 (n. 36). A slightly different nuance is expressed by (*ki-me-e di-na E.*) *ši-na-du-ma i-pu-šu*, No. 71. 27, 33. In this text, which is among the most interesting in the present volume, E. appeals from a previous decision in court, with the unhappy result that he is sentenced to pay an additional fine of one ox to each of the judges who had decided the case against him originally, "because the suit E. *šinatuma ippušu*." The sense is clearly "repeated," or "brought up again."

Another compound with *šin(a)*, viz. *šinaḫilu*, will take us farther afield.

[5] For *ṣuḫḫeru* used of asses two years old, cf. 86.13.

[6] There should be little doubt about the Hurrian origin of this word, in spite of the occurrence of Hurro-Akkadian compounds; any immediate connection between *arpu* and Semitic *ḫrp/f*, which may mean "year" as it does in South Arabic (cf. Albright, AJSL 51.127), is precluded by the character of the initial *ḫ*; the Nuzi cognate of *ḫrp* is *ḫurapu* "spring, young."

To begin with, the word occurs in No. 78. 2 where it is applied to "pullovers." But my interest in this term dates from the time when Julius Lewy called to my attention its occurrence in KBo III 3 II 7 (*šinaḫilā*) and in No. 75. 7 of his own Louvre volume of Cappadocian texts (*šinaḫilim*), inquiring about possible Nuzi analogues.[7] Among the SMN texts transliterated by Pfeiffer I have noted the following passages:

SMN 872. 1-2: [*1*] *imēr* GIG *ši-na-ḫi-lu* [*1*] *imēr* GIG *damqu*^{qú}
ibid. 7-8: *1 imēr* GIG *damqú 1 imēr* GIG *ši-na-ḫi-lu*

The same contrast of "good wheat" and "š. wheat" is maintained throughout this particular text. In other SMN texts which were available to me in Lacheman's transliterations, š. is applied to couches (SMN 859), sheep (SMN 890), garments or cloth (*1* TÚG *aš-du-uz-zi 1* TÚG *ši-na-ḫi-lu*, SMN 2671), and grain (*zi-ri-ú a-na ekallim*^{lim} *a-na ši-na-ḫi-la*, SMN 3200); and finally, ^{LÚ}*ši-na-ḫi-lu-uḫ-li* is found in SMN 2738. 10, 12.

In the Boghazköi passage cited above š. is glossed "second in command," hence Ungnad's proposed West Semitic etymology (with the Semitic numeral for "two"), ZAW 1923. 207. But the remaining passages in which the term is found call for a much more flexible interpretation. The underlying meaning must suit grain and garments, furniture and domestic animals, in addition to men. Now ^{LÚ}*šinaḫiluḫli*, with the distinctive Hurrian occupational ending *-uḫlu*, corresponds in all likelihood with the previously cited *šinamu* "substitute, representative"; its further connection with the Boghazköi *šinaḫilā* is obvious, for at most we have to allow for a difference in relative ranking, which is merely one of degree. Passing now to the other occurrences, the juxtaposition of *damqu* and *šinaḫilu* with reference to wheat points plainly to a distinction with regard to quality.[8] The same is manifestly true of *aštuzzi* and *šinaḫilu* as applied to garments or clothes; here *aštuzzi* proves to be a Hurrian equivalent of *damqu*. "Second, secondary quality" will suit also couches and sheep. "Grain for the palace for š." (SMN 3200) is not entirely clear. The phrase might mean grain delivered for the š.-men, for a second sowing, or the cultivation of a secondary variety. But this uncertainty as to the precise significance of one passage does not invalidate in any way the conclusion based on a comparison of a number of considerably diversified occurrences. The basic value of š. is accordingly "of second(ary) rank or quality."

[7] Lewy adds the following literature on *šinaḫilā*: Ungnad, ZAW 1923.207; Hrozný, Bogh. Stud. III 144 note 4; Friedrich, AO 23.2 note 2, and ZA NF 2.282.

[8] Cf. the juxtaposition of good and second-grade beer, Hrozný, Getreidewesen im alten Babylonien 55 and 149.

The first element is, of course, the same as in *šinamu* and *šinatu*, i. e., identical with the Hurrian numeral for "two." [9]

The numeral *tumn(i)* is found in *1 narkabtu du-um-na-du*, SMN 2209. 2, which yields the neat picture "one chariot of four (wheels)." This additional notation is evidently intended to differentiate the wagon from the more common and typical two-wheeler.

The one numeral of which the exact value is as yet uncertain, viz. *kik-*, has not been discovered so far independently of *-arpu*. But the unexpected information contributed by the other two compounds should compensate us fully for this one omission.

[9] As applied to humans, *šinaḫilu/ā* corresponds with Akkadian *tertennu* (with which it is actually glossed in the Boghazköi passage) and Hittite *tān pēdas*, with which it may share indeed the value "two" of the first element of the compound; cf., E. Adelaide Hahn, Language 12.114, and Sturtevant, Hittite Grammar 128.

APPENDIX B

The Linguistic Substratum at Nuzi

At the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society which was held at New Haven in April, 1936, I presented a paper on "Caucasic Influences in the Nuzi Verb."[1] The argument was, briefly, as follows: The Akkadian dialect of Nuzi is in many respects unorthodox. Most of its departures from normal Akkadian may be ascribed to lack of adequate knowledge of the language on the part of the Nuzi scribes. There are, however, certain groups of errors for which ignorance alone will not account satisfactorily. Their persistence suggests some more positive influence, and the logical source of that was manifestly the heterogeneous mother tongue of those Nuzi scribes who have been found guilty of the not unmethodical "mistakes" under discussion. These mistakes are noticeable especially in the verb. They can be accounted for on the assumption that the scribes had a passival concept of the verb impressed upon their linguistic consciousness, a concept from which they did not always succeed in freeing themselves when it came to expressing in Akkadian some more complicated type of verbal sentence. Now it is precisely this type of verbal concept that Friedrich has recently established for Urartean.[2] The linguistic substratum at Nuzi was Hurrian, a language whose relationship to Urartean is becoming constantly more apparent. It is true that in the present state of our knowledge of Hurrian we cannot speak as yet with confidence of the existence in this language of a passival verbal concept. But the correspondence in this particular respect between Urartean and Nuzi Akkadian, coupled with the linguistic ties that connect Urartean with Hurrian, lead us to predict the discovery of a similar verbal orientation in Hurrian proper. Lastly, since the type of verb in question is characteristic of certain Caucasic languages, we may ascribe the non-Akkadian constructions in the Nuzi documents broadly to Caucasic influence.

The foregoing argument was illustrated with a number of examples from the published material. It was my intention to add further instances from the texts included in the present volume and to present the complete discussion in the form of a separate article. But such a plan is no longer advisable on account of an essay which came out during the summer in the latest issue of the Archiv für Orientforschung. Its author is Dr. Leo Oppenheim and his

[1] Cf. the "Proceedings" of the Society, JAOS 56 No. 3.

[2] See his Einführung ins Urartäische, §§ 50 ff., 81.

subject is well defined by the title "Zur Landessprache von Arrapḫa-Nuzi."[3] Oppenheim's approach is exactly the same as mine. He confines himself to the verb, concentrates on definite groups of errors, and draws conclusions with regard to the linguistic substratum that must be held responsible for such errors. What is more, both of us lean heavily on the same sets of examples, as will readily be recalled by those who heard my paper and have read Oppenheim's article. So far our paths have been identical, and the thoroughgoing agreement in method and results cannot but be mutually gratifying.[4] At this stage, however, we are forced to part company. For in identifying the substratum in question Oppenheim arrives at the conclusion that the underlying language was not Hurrian, but one hitherto unknown, although its closest known affinities are with Elamite.[5]

Since we are in thorough agreement on so many points, and since Oppenheim's paper lists most of the examples that I had planned to use, there would be no advantage in going over the same ground again. We differ only as to the identity of the other language at Nuzi. But the difference is a vital one and its adjudication involves not only a nice point of linguistic reconstruction, but also—and this is of infinitely greater moment—the correct interpretation of powerful ethnic and artistic forces which helped to condition the course of events in the Near East in the second millennium B. C. I shall take for granted, therefore, the starting point of this inquiry and refer for a full list of examples to the several groups given in Oppenheim's article and to the additional instances in the present volume. What is most timely just now is a re-examination of the premises on which Oppenheim based his final results. And this can be accomplished with the aid of a small number of instances.

a. H I 73 is a will in which the testator defines the duties of his sons towards his widow: "they shall reverence her" (lines 12-13); the text reads, however, in reality: *i-pal-la-aḫ-ŠU-NU-TI* "she shall reverence them." Concerning another woman of the household the will specifies that the sons "shall not expel her" (28-30); but the text reads *la ú-še-iṣ-ṣi-ŠU-NU* "she shall not expel them."

b. H I 30 has *AT-ta-din* "I gave" for "he gave" and, conversely, *I-ša-as-sí* "he shall claim" instead of "I shall claim." Gadd 61.4 has *TA-aq-ta-*[*b*]*i* "she (or perhaps better 'you') spoke" instead of "he spoke."

c. H I 28.13 applies *ú-ta-AR-ma* "he shall return" to three men.

[3] AfO 11.56-65.

[4] In a personal communication Oppenheim very kindly expressed his pleasure at thus finding many of his results independently confirmed.

[5] Op. cit. 64.

d. N 131. 12-3 writes *5* UDU^{MEŠ} *T. a-na ya-ši id-di-NU* "five sheep T. to me they(!) gave."

The above examples represent the principal groups of errors recognized and listed by Oppenheim.[6] Needless to add, these instances are not isolated, as a glance at Oppenheim's article will show. With the single exception of *taqtabī*, I used the same examples in my paper at New Haven and had available a number of others.

We now come to the crux of the matter. Granted that these curious departures from normal Akkadian are due to the influence of a linguistic substratum, what light is thrown thereby upon that substratum? Oppenheim proceeds on the assumption that each of the above verbal forms is a slavish reproduction of an underlying non-Akkadian expression, even to the extent of duplicating the exact order of the various formative elements. Thus he analyzes *ušēṣī-ŠUNU* as "sie (Obj. Sg.) + herausgehen-lassen + sie (Subj. Pl.)." This method is carried to its extreme in the tentative interpretation of *TAqtabī* as "*T* + *A* + *qtabî* 'zu mir + gesprochen.'" One of the leading deductions based on this analysis is that the substratum in question gave a prominent place in the verb to prefixed formatives. And upon this very deduction is founded the conclusion that the "Landessprache" was some language distinct from Hurrian.[7]

I am convinced that the reader will have little difficulty in detecting the fallacy in Oppenheim's argument. He has confused the syntactic peculiarities of one language with the morphological limitations of another, and the confusion has had serious consequences mainly because the two languages operate with radically different verbal concepts. Perhaps an illustration from another source will make this point clearer. Let us suppose that a Sumerian writer has to render into Akkadian the sentence-name *Utu-m(u-')a-n-se* "The Sun-god to-me-he-gave." He knows that *Šamaš-iddinam* is regarded as the equivalent of the Sumerian form, but, being a pedant, he wishes to reproduce the force of his native -(')*a*- "to me," not realizing that the Akkadian *-am* does

[6] Oppenheim divides his examples into groups A-F. My own grouping as given above differs from his in that a = E, b = A, c = B, and d = D. Oppenheim's C may be regarded as essentially identical with his A. And finally, his group E should be eliminated entirely. The first two instances in it are obvious errors, the first of the scribe (*i-te-MU-uš / i-te-PU-uš*, so that the final *-uš* is part of the verb and not a pronominal suffix), and the other of the author (*ya-ši* goes with what follows and not with the preceding sentence; cf. note to No. 54 in this volume). The two remaining examples merely illustrate the pleonastic use of pronominal suffixes with more than one word. Incidentally the verbs in his first and third examples are used intransitively, for which usage see below.

[7] Op. cit. 63, 65.

exactly that thing. He may append, therefore, a superfluous *ana yāši*, or he may even change the order of the words to **Šamaš-ana-yāši-iddinam*. But, on the other hand, although he may have heard about the Akkadian ventive, he will scarcely produce some such monstrosity as **Šamaš-am-iddin* merely because he cannot free himself from the tyranny of the Sumerian word-order. In short, one may expect a re-shuffling of words in a given foreign sentence under the influence of the speaker's own language. But no such influence is likely to affect the order of formatives within a single word, for such formatives have no independent existence, especially in a synthetic language like Akkadian.

The explanation of the phenomena recorded by Oppenheim does not call for heroic remedies. The real reason is much simpler. The substratum in question had a passival verb-concept, a fact that is recognized by Oppenheim himself, who fails, however, to draw from it the necessary conclusions. This goal-action concept is in marked contrast to the Akkadian actor-action type of verb. Now if a Nuzi scribe has failed to master his Akkadian, he will find himself in trouble as soon as he attempts to express any but the simplest syntactic relations. He will be under pressure to switch around his objects and subjects, and where such a procedure is impossible he will confuse them with one another. This is clearly exemplified in our first group of examples (a), where "THEY shall reverence HER" and "THEY shall not expel HER" becomes "SHE shall reverence, not expel THEM." What the scribes had in mind was "SHE shall BE reverencED, not expellED by THEM."[8] In other words, the influence of their own goal-action type of verb causes the scribes who are writing in a strange and dissimilar medium to confuse subjects with objects. The matter is complicated for them by the fact that the subjects and objects differ in number. In the remaining instances the situation is simplified by the circumstance that the objects are not indicated by means of pronomial suffixes. Here a change of person or number is the sole concession to the effects of the linguistic substratum: "I /he gave" reflects "I was given"; "he/I shall claim" echoes "it shall be claimed"; "he/they shall return" is under the influence of "it shall be returned (to them)"; and finally, "five sheep T. to me they(!) gave" seems to be the result of "five sheep were given to me (by) T."

[8] It is worthy of notice that the same suffix (*ali*) is used in Urartean for the third person plural, both with intransitive verbs (*nunali* "they came") and with transitive verbs when the object is in the plural (*šidištuali* "he built [more than one house]"); cf. Friedrich, op. cit. §§ 25, 82. Without necessarily implying an analogous situation in Hurrian, I shall only call attention to the fact that our erring Nuzi scribes assigned to the Akkadian *šūnu*(*ti*) a similar dual function.

The one instance[9] that fails to benefit by the same common explanation is *taqtabī* for "he spoke." It may be that change of gender (the declarer is a woman) has contributed to the confusion. On the other hand, we can hardly expect unvarying consistency from our scribes. They were guilty of many errors pure and simple, as is evidenced by scores of examples. Moreover, we are dealing here with problems of syntax and not with phonetic or morphological influences. Such changes as have been noted are not the outcome of normal linguistic trends, but rather the result of inability on the part of individual speakers (or writers) to master the intricacies of a foreign type of language. This is an added reason why we cannot look for the operation of inflexible linguistic laws where only the speaker's linguistic ability is the decisive factor.

To sum up, Oppenheim recognizes in the underlying language of Nuzi, as revealed by the slips of the native scribes, the existence of a goal-action[10] verbal concept. But instead of applying this discovery to the solution of the problem at hand, he has allowed himself to be side-tracked by a methodologically unsound deduction as to the prefixal features of the substratum. His main theory is founded upon this one faulty premise: The Nuzians are all but universally linked with the Subaraeans.[11] But the Subaraean verb, as displayed to us in Bork's grammar of the Mitanni language, is exclusively suffixal.[12] Inevitably, therefore, the linguistic substratum at Nuzi was not Subaraean, but some other hitherto unknown language; the two may be branches of the same family, but not dialects of the same language. On the other hand, Elamite with its prefixing propensities proves to be a closer relative of the substratum under discussion.

It is easy to see how one fallacy has led to others. Now that we have demonstrated the unsoundness of Oppenheim's reasoning, it will not be begging the question to allude to the manifold ties that link the non-Akkadian language of Nuzi to the Hurrian group of dialects. I shall refrain from adducing arguments of a historical and archaeological nature[13] for the entirely

[9] I. e., among the examples cited above. As I have indicated, an effort has been made to analyse only each one of Oppenheim's groups, and not every individual example.

[10] For this term, see L. Bloomfield's book on Language, p. 173.

[11] The author prefers this term to "Hurrian." Dr. Lacheman has transliterated a Nuzi text (SMN 2623), which contains a list of scribes similar to those published in Chiera's Sumerian Lexical Texts 106, 109. Lines 14-15 of Lacheman's text repeat the reading TUP.SAR.ḪUR.RUM, and Lacheman regards these passages as positive evidence that the Nuzians called their own language Hurrian and not Subaraean. For my longstanding sponsorship of the former term, cf. AASOR 13.13 ff.

[12] Op. cit. 63.

[13] For these, see my Ethnic Movements, AASOR 13.13 ff.

adequate reason that the problem is purely linguistic. The evidence from proper names alone is today more compelling than ever before.[14] The occurrence of compounds with *ak-* and *ar-*, and with *-šarri* and *-šenni* all the way from Anatolia and Syria to Transpotamia can hardly be said to favor any view that would separate these onomastic sources. I am purposely ignoring the compounds with *-tešup*, on the ground that this particular form of the storm-god is not restricted to Hurrians. Furthermore, the non-Semitic proper names from Nuzi betray local or eastern peculiarities in their fondness for *-tilla* and in their substitution of *Ištar* for *Ḫepit* or *Šauška*. For that matter, eastern leanings are attested most convincingly by the Nuzians' use of Akkadian as their literary medium of expression. But the Hurrian background is reaffirmed by the appearance of *Kumu/arwe* as a prominent figure in the local pantheon.[15]

The lexical ties with Hurrian, which are revealed by the onomastic material, become strengthened by the correspondence of independent lexical elements. In a recent study of the economic conditions at Nuzi a number of local terms were duplicated from the Amarna material.[16] I might add here the word *ḫenni* which has the value "now" both in SMN 2609. 8 and in the Mitanni letter I 74-5.

When we add to these items instances of correspondence in grammatical details, the contention that our substratum was Hurrian becomes irrefutable. We have seen that the numerals for "two" and "four," the only ones that can be definitely identified in the Mitanni letter and at Nuzi, are identical in both sources.[17] Then we have the plural ending *-ena* in such terms as *kuruštaena*,[18] the case and pronominal suffixes *-aš, -we, -ni-*, and *-ḫi*.[19] Nor is the evidence of *irwin* "the Lady," an epithet applied to Ishtar, negligible in its implication. The word itself may be either Hurrian or Urartaean; but the suffix *-n* contributes morphological proof of connection with Hurrian.[20]

In passing, I wish to emphasize a point which I have made on several previous occasions.[21] The wide distribution of Hurrian over the length and breadth of the Near East led of necessity to the development and crystallization of dialectal differences. These differences are particularly noticeable in the field of phonology. Forms like Nuzi *irwi* for Western *iwri, gurpizu* for

[14] For the non-Semitic proper names from Nuzi, I may refer to the forthcoming study of Dr. P. M. Purves, which he prepared while a member of my Nuzi Seminar. The work will appear in the Oriental Institute Publications.

[15] See the notes to Nos. 46-50.

[16] Cf. MPND.

[17] Cf. Appendix A.

[18] See JAOS 55.439.

[19] Cf. note 15.

[20] Ibid.

[21] See already Mesopotamian Origins 145 f. note 90.

gursipu, and *Wantišenni* for *Pentešina*, are only a few indications of important phonetic divergences between East Hurrian and West Hurrian respectively. The subject is not ripe, however, as yet for detailed treatment.

In conclusion, we may note from among the texts presented in this volume several traces of presumably Hurrian influence on Nuzi Akkadian apart from the verb. Thus we have in 7. 2 the expression *mār šipru* instead of the expected *mār šipri*; in 56. 17 occurs the form *šībūta*, with the ending of the accusative singular applied to a plural noun. The curious form *ka-az-zu-um* "his share" (65. 10) betrays the treatment of a noun (*qātu*) with the possessive suffix of the third person as a simple nominative to which the mimation can be added; the addition is of course a scribal display of false knowledge, but the implications are noteworthy, nevertheless. In line with the above tendencies is the use of a single pronominal *-ya* "mine" with three nouns (60. 27). All these peculiar Nuziana seem to point in the same direction: the underlying Hurrian had a predilection for various types of compounds, which came to be regarded and were consequently treated as simple nouns (*mār-šipru*, *šībūtu*, *qāssu*, etc.). For the time being, however, such instances are merely trail-markers which may turn out to lead nowhere.

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LIST OF PERSONAL NAMES

[The index of personal names occurring in the present volume was prepared by Dr. P. M. Purves; his compilation has been reproduced with a minimum of editorial interference. The names are given first in a normalized form, indicated in italics. This is followed by a syllabic transliteration which has utilized Thureau-Dangin's system only in the case of definitely Semitic elements. All other elements are given in direct transliteration, even to the extent of writing *tum* where tu_4 is obviously intended. The only innovation is the use of *wA* for the sign PI wherever outside evidence fails to eliminate the ambiguity of the vowel in question. In the normalized headings the quality of vowels in non-Semitic elements had to be ignored; the same applies to possible indications of the glottal catch. Stops have been given in their voiceless forms, save, of course, for Akkadian names; but this procedure does not presuppose a decision with regard to the underlying sounds. The order is that of the Latin alphabet, except that voiced and emphatic stops had to be listed together with the voiceless ones. For similar reasons, names beginning with *e*, *i*, and *y* have been grouped together under *i*. Likewise *s* and *ṣ* have been grouped together under *z*, while *š* has been listed before *t*. E. A. S.]

In the list of personal names the following abbreviations have been used: d. for 'daughter of'; f. for 'father of'; gf. for 'grandfather of ; gs. for 'grandson of'; m. for 'mother of'; s. for 'son of'; h. for 'husband of'; w. for 'wife of'; sis. for 'sister of'; id. for 'same person'; ibid. for 'same document.'

Readings and restorations which have no confirmation in the document published in this volume are based on unpublished Nuzi material at the Semitic Museum of Harvard University and at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

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